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The Geographical Society of the Pacific

CONTENTS

THE DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY,
THE REDISCOVERY OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY,
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDIO,
AND
THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION
OF SAN FRANCISCO.

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THE DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY

THE REDISCOVERY OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY;
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDO,
AND THE FOUNDING OF THE
MISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO.

GEORGE DAVIDSON, PH. D., Sc. D.

President of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, Etc., Etc.

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The Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco and the Rediscovery of the Port of Monterey.

GEORGE DAVIDSON

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The Discovery of San Francisco Bay.

INTRODUCTORY.

When we began to put on record our investigations of the Discovery of San Francisco Bay, we proposed to confine our paper to the solution of that question alone. We had published some of the facts of the discovery in two separate papers relating to the early voyages of discovery and exploration on this coast, and in the four editions of the *Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington*.

In the year 1895 Mr. Andrew J. Moulder, Superintendent of the Public Schools of San Francisco, a long time friend, prevailed upon us to read a paper upon the subject before the teachers of the San Francisco School Department, as part of the required Institute work.

That has appeared to us too brief for preservation, and therefore we have undertaken to recast it, and add new material with more detail.*

But even the few records available to us soon showed that this discovery was so interwoven with the re-discovery of the Port of Monterey, that these two subjects could best be told in the same relation of events.

The discovery of San Francisco Bay was an accident in the search for the Port of Monterey.

In 1602 Sebastian Vizcaíno had reported to his Majesty the King of Spain, that he had discovered a famous port in the latitude of 37° to which he had given the name Monterey.

The Portolá land expedition of 1769 was sent out from Mexico to find this port which Vizcaíno asserted was protected from all winds, and could afford anchorage to all the ships of Spain.

The fact is that no such port existed in the latitude named, nor in the vicinity thereof. The governing feature for finding the port, from the navigator's point of view, was the Loma de la Punta de Pinos; the Point Pinos of our charts. Governor Portolá and his officers saw no such port at this Point of Pines and therefore the

* Superintendent Moulder proposed to publish the original paper, but he died in less than two months after the convention.

expedition moved northward along the shore to and beyond latitude 37° ; discovered the southeast part of the Bay of San Francisco, but not the Golden Gate; returned to Carmel Bay and vainly searched the ocean flank of the high and bold Sierra Santa Lucia for a port; and returned to San Diego.

The next year, 1770, Portolá again started for Point Pinos, and upon his arrival he and all his officers and the Fathers declared the southern part of the open bay of Monterey to be that intended by Vizeaino, and described by Cabrera Bueno in 1734. He took formal possession of the country, established the Presidio of Monterey, and founded the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey. He then returned south, leaving a few soldiers for the protection of the missionaries.

Even on the second expedition the Golden Gate was unknown, and so remained until it was seen from the treeless slopes of Berkeley by the Fagés expedition of 1772, which had been undertaken to reach the old Puerto de San Francisco under Point Reyes, by encircling the great estero of San Francisco along its eastern shore.

Thus through the years 1769, '70, '71, '72 the narrative is continuous, and to tell the story of each discovery separately would be to largely repeat parts, and to dislocate two well-linked incidents.

As introductory to the whole subject, we go back to the earliest attempts of the Spaniards in their heroic and sacrificing efforts to reconnoiter the northwest coast of America from Cape San Lucas to the northward.

Then we endeavor to show what was the purpose of Spain in outfitting the expeditions of 1769. There were two in that year under the command of Governor Portolá: one by land, and one by sea; the latter was a dead failure.

This enterprise largely prompted the execution of several voyages of discovery and exploration from the Bay of San Francisco to the Gulf of Alaska, and as far west as Unalaska Island; and the survey of that unique and intricate system of deep water straits and inlets and islands from Olympia in $47^{\circ} 03'$ to the head of Taiyá Inlet in $59^{\circ} 29'$.

Then ensued a period of arrested development that we need not touch upon.

For this investigation we have had the narrative and some of the

letters of Sebastian Vizcaíno, and the chart compiled in 1802 from the thirty-two plans of his cartographer, Captain Geronymo Martin; the report and diary of Don Miguel Costansó, engineer to Portolá; the diary of Father Juan Crespi as given in Father Paloú's "Notícias"; and copies of some manuscript letters of Father Crespi and one from Sergeant Ortega, from the British Museum; Costansó's letter of 1772 to Don Melchor de Peramas from "Out West," January, 1902; the Borrador or diary of Father Pedro Font who was with Colonel Anza in his explorations around San Francisco Bay in 1776; Father Paloú's Life of Junípero Serra, 1787; the Atlas of the Voyage of the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana* (1802) with map of Monterey Bay in 1791; and manuscript narratives of the Spanish explorers on the northwest coast from 1774 to 1791, recopied from the originals in the archives of Spain. We have consulted the narrative of Vancouver, who visited San Francisco and Monterey Bays, and the lately published voyage of Malaspina who visited Monterey and Carmel Bays. Besides these are some old charts and the later accurate charts of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey; the maps of the California State Geological Survey; and the maps of the United States Geological Survey; all of which have been appealed to.

In our official duties upon this coast we spent nearly forty-five years in the geodetic and geographic work of the seabord, and gradually acquired some familiarity therewith, and with the narratives of the early voyages of discovery and exploration. The best of the early authorities is the Derrotero or Coast Pilot of Pilot Don Joseph Gonzales Cabrera Bueno; Madrid, 1734.

In order to be fairly certain of recovering, at this late day, many places feebly described in these short and frequently unsatisfactory diaries, the investigator should be familiar with the appearance of the whole coast line traversed; with every cliff, point, islet, rock and headland of prominence; with the location and appearance, from different points of view, of notable forests, patches of timber or chaparral; and in some cases with the old Indian trails. He should know the character of the season when the travel was made because the dry arroyo of one day may be a rushing stream after a rainstorm. All of these conditions can not be grasped even through much experience; the Spaniard has not preserved the traditions of the natives; and the narratives themselves are very

uneven in details. The observations for latitude were infrequent and made only along the coast line. The latitude observations of the two observers with Portolá ranged through twenty minutes of arc; and neither gives a good observation to enable us to locate the camp on the southwest shore of San Francisco Bay.

It is not within the scope of this paper to give the complete diary of either of the narrators of the expedition of 1769, although they are full of intense interest.

Fortunately for the history of Discovery on this coast, the Spanish narrative published by Dalrymple in 1790 is supplemented by the detailed report and diary of Engineer Miguel Costansó. This important document was obtained by Hon. Adolph Sutro in the city of Mexico about 1885; and by his permission the Geographical Society of the Pacific was authorized to publish a copy of the original and a translation. We have made an examination of the original, and have translated that part which relates to the actual discovery of San Francisco Bay.*

Where Costansó's descriptions are very brief we have appealed to the diary and letters of Father Crespi.†

*

"EXTRACTO DE NOTICIAS

"del Puerto de Monterey, de la Mision y Presidio que se han establecido en el con la denominacion de San Carlos y del successo de las dos Expediciones de Mar, y Tierra que á este fin se despacharon en el año proximo anterior de 1769. * * *

"En el dia 14. del citado mes de Junio ultimo despachó el dicho Comandante D. Gaspar de Portolá, un Correo por tierra. * * *

"Mexico y Octubre 24 de 1770.

"Migl. Costansó."

"Diario del Viage de Tierra hecho al Norte de la California de Orden dt Exeñito. Sor. Marqués de Croix Virrey, Goyernador y Capn. General de la Nueva España &a. &a. Por direcccion del Yllmo. Sor. dn. Joseph de Galvez dt Consejo y Camara de S. M. en el Supremo de las Yndias, * * *
"Puetro y Real de Sn. Diego siete de Febrero de mil setecientos setenta.
"Miguel Costansó."

The copy of the original was certified to on the 20th of June, 1770, at the City of Mexico by Dn. Franco Xavier and Machado Fiesco.

† "Noticias de la Nueva California" escritas por el Rev. Padre Fr. Francisco Palou. California Historical Society's Publications. San Francisco, 1874. 4 vols. 8vo.

WHY SAN FRANCISCO BAY WAS SO NAMED.

VARIOUS AUTHORITIES.

"When the V. P. Fr. Junípero [Serra] consulted with the Illmo. "Señor Visitador General [Galvez] about the first three missions "which he had charged him to establish in this Nueva California, "noticing the names of the Guardian Saints that were assigned to "them, he said: 'Señor, why is there not a mission for Nuestro "Padre San Francisco?' To which the Visitador General responded: "'If San Francisco wishes a Mission let his Port be discovered "and one will be founded.'* The expedition continued northward, "reached the Puerto de Monterey; made and set up there a Cross, "without anyone knowing how far they had gone, as they had "read about the landmarks in the narratives [Cabrera's Coast "Pilot]. Therefore they went forty leagues farther, and came upon "the Puerto de San Francisco Nuestro Padre, which all recognized "immediately by its agreement with the landmarks described in "the narratives. In view of this what have we to say why Neustro "Padre should not wish a Mission in his Port?'"

At that time the good Fathers did not know that the "Port of San Francisco" had long been known to their navigators. Nevertheless it was promptly recognized by the Comandante Portolá and by Engineer Costansó so soon as it was visible from the heights of Point San Pedro, as the port described by Cabrera in his Coast Pilot of 1734. It was the "faire and good bay," and the "conuenient and fit harborough" of Drake, in the latitude 38°; the "Portus Novæ Albionis" of Hondius, 1595; the "Pto. de los Reyes" of Vizcaíno, 1603; the "B: di noua Albion; Il Porto. bonissmo" of Dudley before 1647; "Po. Sr. Francis Drake," Moll, 1720; "El

*"Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra," y de las Misiones que fondó en la California Septentrional, y nuevos establecimientos de Monterey. Escrita Por el R. P. L. Fr. Francisco Palou, * * * Impresa en México, en la Imprenta de Don Filipo de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, calle del Espíritu Santo, Año de 1787." Small 8vo. vellum, 344 pp. and small map showing Missions; among them "La M. de Carlos d Monte-Rey."

Cap. XVIII, p. 88. Return of the Expedition to San Diego in 1769 without having found the "Puerto de Monterey."

"San Francisco: bay, county, and city in same county, in California, said by some to have been named for the old Spanish mission of San Francisco de Assisi, by others to have been named for the founder of the order to which Father Junípero [Serra], the discoverer of the bay, belonged."

"Bulletin, U. S. Geological Survey," No. 197. The origin of certain place names in the United States. 1902; page 231.

Puerto de San Francisco," Venegas, 1739; "Port St. Francis Drake," Jeffereys, 1761; "Po. de San Francisco" on Spanish charts before Portolá; "Puerto de San Francisco," expeditions of 1769, 1770; "Port de Fran^çois Drake," Abbe Raynal, 1770; and even after part of San Francisco Bay was discovered by Portolá Costansó's chart of October 30, 1770, has the "Pto. de S. Francisco, our Drakes Bay, with the new term "Estero San Francisco" applied to the bay proper.*

It was a grim idea to make Drake a saint.

It was the first Portolá expedition that applied the term Puerto de San Francisco to the Gulf of the Farallones. But the succeeding Spanish navigators retained the old name to the anchorage under the eastern promontory of Point Reyes Head. When Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra had completed his remarkable exploration of 1779 in *La Favorita* [La Virgen de los Remedios], he ran down the coast for San Francisco and San Blas; and made the following record in his log: "El dia 14 [Septiembre, 1779], "enclaron en San Francisco despues de correr la costa desde el "cabo Mendocino que justamente se hallaron sobre 40° 6' de lati- "tud, y haber reconocido á satisfaccion el Puerto de San Fran- "cisco en que se perdió la nao de Filipinas, llamada San Augustin, "el cual está como dos millas de Leste de la Punta de Reyes." Upon his arrival he anchored off the Presidio of San Francisco.†

* "Identification of the Anchorage of Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California in the year 1579." George Davidson, San Francisco, 1890.

† "Tercera exploracion hecha el Año de 1779 con las Fragatas del Rey, La Princesa, mandada por el Teniente de Navio D. Ygnacio Arteaga, y la Favòrita por el de la Misma classe D. Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, desde el puerto de San Blas hasta los 61° de Latitud." Manuscript.

WHAT WAS THE OBJECT OF THE EXPEDITION OF 1769
FROM MEXICO THAT LED TO THE DISCOVERY OF
THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO AND THE RE-
DISCOVERY OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY.

In 1767 Spain and Portugal still held the claims awarded to them by Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, and had opposed all the attempts of other nations—especially the English and the Dutch—to exploit the waters of the Pacific Ocean, and of the seas and lands contiguous thereto.

The freebooting expeditions of Drake, Cavendish, Morgan, Dampier and others had one main object in view—plunder. And it mattered not whether their ill-gotten gains were stolen from government mines and vessels, private wealth and neutral ships, or from towns and churches.*

Spain had sent out Hernando de Magallanes in 1520 to find a sea route to the Pacific. He discovered the strait still known by his name; the Ladrones, the Philippines, where he was killed; and his vessels continued their voyage home under Juan Sebastian del Cana by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1525 Cortés fitted out three ships for the Philippines; and thenceforth was opened a rich traffic between New Spain and that archipelago. Cortés kept the spirit of discovery alive, sent a vessel south to search for “the secret of the strait” or an isthmian connection between the Atlantic and the Pacific; to the north, the head of the Vermilion Sea, or the Gulf of California, was determined; and in 1539 Ulloa essayed to follow the Pacific coast of the peninsula to the northward. That was successfully accomplished in 1542 and 1543 when Cabrillo and Ferrelo certainly reached as high as Punta Arena in sight of land, in latitude $38^{\circ} 57'$, and probably King Peake in $40^{\circ} 09'$.

In 1579 Drake, the “master thiefe of the unknowne world,”† plundered the western coast of America from Chili to Mexico, and reached the Oregon coast at Cape Blanco in latitude $42^{\circ} 50'$; and

* “A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World,” perform’d in the years 1708, 1709, 1710 and 1711. * * * by Capt. Edward Cooke; 2 vols. London, 1712. He expresses his views very clearly and severely in Vol I, pages 410 et seq.

† “Life, Voyages and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake”; * * * by John Barrows, Esq. * * * London, MDCCXLIII.

ten years later Thomas Cavendish captured the galleon *Santa Ana* off Cape San Lucas in latitude $22^{\circ} 52'$.

These exploits may well have prompted the King of Spain to direct the Viceroy of New Spain to undertake a survey of the California coast in 1594, by the galleon *San Augustin* under Cermeño in 1595. After the loss of that vessel at Drake's Bay an expedition under Sebastian Vizcaíno examined this coast to the latitude of $42^{\circ} 50'$ (Martin de Aguilar).

We recall no other attempts at exploration on the northwest coast until 1767.

In the interval of one hundred and sixty-four years, two unexpected expeditions into the north Pacific awakened Spain from her long siesta.

In 1728 Vitus Bering had crossed Siberia from St. Petersburg; fitted out a small vessel and traced the Asiatic coast from the south point of Kamchatka in latitude $50^{\circ} 50'$ to the East Cape of Asia at Bering Strait in latitude $66^{\circ} 10'$.

In 1741 Bering again appeared on the Pacific with two brigs, the *Saint Peter* and the *Saint Paul*, which he had built at Okhotsk, and discovered the northwest coast of America from latitude $55^{\circ} 21'$ to the northward under Mount St. Elias, thence westward and southwest and west through the Aleutian Islands. Chirikof, the second in command, reached the Alaskan coast in latitude $55^{\circ} 21'$.*

In the same year George Anson, Esq., in command of a squadron, left England for the South Sea.† A Spanish squadron was fitted out to intercept him but failed.

In the Pacific he harried the American coast from Chili to Mexico in May, 1742. Off the harbor of Acapulco he laid in wait for a Spanish galleon, then crossed the Pacific to the Ladrones; visited Macao and the Philippines, and captured the *Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga* of thirty-six guns and five hundred and fifty men off Cape Espíritu Santo, Sámar Island, latitude $12^{\circ} 32'$, near the entrance to the Strait of San Bernardino. Besides large plunder

* "The Tracks and Landfalls of Bering and Chirikof" on the Northwest Coast of America. * * * George Davidson, 1901; private circulation. Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1901. 8vo., 50 pp., one chart.

† "A Voyage Round the World," in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV. By George Anson, Esq., Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's ships, sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas. * * * By Richard Walter, M. A., Chaplain. * * * London, John and Paul Knapton, MDCCXLVIII.

he possessed himself of the Spanish manuscript Coast Pilots, and the charts that gave the routes of the galleons across the Pacific.*

In 1762 the English had seized Havana and so held Cuba; in the same year an English fleet and army from India seized and sacked Manila and so held the Philippines. All were returned to Spain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which closed the Seven Years' War.

These and other events must have warned Spain that it was time to assert her rights and traffic more vigorously on the Pacific. Certainly the lesson of these adventures was driven home when it was learned that England had proposed in 1767 to fit out a scientific expedition to observe the transit of Venus across the Sun's disc at some island in the South Sea. The event was to occur June 9, 1769, and after some home differences were settled, the chief command was given to James Cook in preference to Alexander Dalrymple, Secretary to the Lords Admiralty. England did not ask permission from Spain to enter those seas for such work, nor for further voyages of exploration.† France proposed to send out an expedition and acceded to the proposition of Spain to occupy a station in the westernmost part of New Spain, the party to be carried in a Spanish naval vessel. M. Chappe d'Auteroche, the chief astronomer, sailed from Spain in a French vessel, journeyed through Mexico to the Pacific, and established his station at San José del Cabo at the extremity of the peninsula of Lower California, where he died soon after the transit. We recovered his station in 1873.‡

This brief enumeration of a few events that threatened Spain's sovereignty of the Pacific leads us to the proclamation of the King of Spain in 1767.

* "The Spaniards, whose Manuscript Coasting-Pilots or Waggoners, compos'd by their ablest Sailors in the South Sea, and improv'd by the constant Practice of about two hundred Years, we took in the Acapulco Ship hereafter to be spoken of." "Voyage to the South Sea and Round the World," perform'd in the Years 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711. * * * by Capt. Edward Cooke. London. MDCCXII. 2 vols. Vol I, page 46. The ship was the Nuestra Señora de la Encarnacion, Manila to Acapulco, at Port Seguro, Bay of San Lucas, Lower California, December 22, 1709. Page 329: She had 192 men on board and was valued at \$2,000,000.

† On the 23d of October, 1776, the Viceroy of New Spain directed the Governor of California not to permit Captain Cook's two ships to enter any port in that province. "The History of California," by Franklin Tuthill; San Francisco, 1866. 1 vol., 8vo., page 116.

‡ Annual Report of the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. Washington, 1874.

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF SPAIN TO PROTECT THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA.

We condense from the translation of an old Spanish document on this subject published in a recent magazine devoted to California history.*

The King of Spain ordered the Marquis de Croix, his Viceroy and Captain General in New Spain, to make efficient provision to guard the Northern Coasts of California against the repeated attempts of a Foreign Nation whose aims are no wise favorable to the Monarchy and its Interests.

Before receiving this command the Viceroy had warned the King of the danger of Invasion and Insult, "and at the time of the "expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain he had appointed a "Political and Military Governor of California in order that he "should execute the same Operations in that Province, maintain it "under the Obedience of the Sovereign, conserve it in peace, and "give advice of whatsoever novelty might occur."

His Excellency the Viceroy desired to send persons properly qualified to make reports of the countries to be visited; of the harbors, resources and character of the natives, before he could effectively put in execution his large designs. He was impressed with the zeal, activity and capacity of one man; and the burden of his difficulty was lifted by the Most Illustrious Señor Don José de Gálvez, Visitador General, who offered to go personally to the Californias.

The Viceroy applauded and accepted the generous offer and gave him all necessary powers, military as well as political.

We need not recall the strong personality and intense enthusiasm of the Visitador General. The keynote of his instructions at this awakening to national activity was in the first Article:

"To establish the Catholic religion among a numerous heathen "people submerged in the obscure darkness of paganism—and to "extend the dominion of the King our Lord, and to protect this "Peninsula [of California] from the ambitious views of foreign "nations."

These few words contain the animus of the Spanish colonial policy; and every subsequent measure of the home government

* "The Land of Sunshine," * * * edited by Chas. F. Lummis; Los Angeles, California. Vol. XIV, No. 6. June, 1902.

breathed the same spirit of propagandism of the Holy Faith, extension and affirmation of the Royal dominion, and extreme jealousy of any foreign influence in her colonies.

The project was not new; its spirit governed the orders of Philip II.* to Miguel Lopes de Legaspi when he sailed from Mexico with the purpose and determination to conquer and found an establishment at the Philippines. In the orders of 1559 it was also commanded that there should be sent with the expedition "holy guides to unfurl and wave the banners of Christ in the remotest parts of these islands, and drive the devil from the tyrannical possession which he had held for so many ages, usurping to himself the adoration of those people."†

In 1606, after the two expeditions of Vizcaíno, the project was again entertained, but was allowed to smoulder for nearly two centuries.

Señor Gálvez arranged for his voyage and set forth from the city of Mexico for Cinaloa and Sonora April the ninth, 1768. He was to exercise care and vigilance in watching and guarding the Western Coasts of California, and the Viceroy added "the timely provision, that the Señor Visitador should send a Maritime Expedition to the famous port of Monterey."

This was a matter of deep concern to the Viceroy on account of the few resources to be reckoned upon in such remote regions; and he impressed his views upon the Visitador General, who had arrived at San Blas and fully recognized their force.

"By the name of Exterior or Occidental [Coasts] of California are known those Coasts of North America which bound the Asiatic Ocean or be it [the] Sea of the South, and ramble along its waters the long space of more than 500 Maritime leagues between Cape San Lucas in 22 degrees and 48 minutes [of North] Latitude and the Rio de los Reyes in 43 degrees.‡ We cite the Rio de los Reyes, not as the limit but as the terminus of what has been

* After Carlos V had retreated from all worldly honors.

† F. Gaspar Conquista Temp. y Spir. de las Islas Filipinas: Lib. I, Chap 13.

‡ This doubtless refers to the highest point reached by the Fragata Los Tres Reyes, commanded by Don Martin de Aguilar, after she parted from the Capitana and Almirante of Vizcalno's expedition, January 19, 1603. The river was very likely the Rogue River of recent charts, and the headland he reached was Cape Blanco in latitude $42^{\circ} 50'$. In the manuscript chart from the Imperial Museum of Munchen, No. 85, Cod. Iconog. 139, in latitude $42^{\circ} 20'$ there is a large deep river named "R. di Totos Santos," while just

"explored of these [coasts] by the Navigators of our Nation
"although this is farther than has extended the [part] conquered
"and reclaimed, by the Spaniards, to obedience unto their August
"Monarch, whose Dominion is not even yet recognized by all the
"Nations [tribes] embraced within the Peninsula." * * *

At that epoch there were not exceeding four hundred "gente de Razón" or civilized people on the Peninsula of Lower California as far north as San Diego, latitude $32^{\circ} 40'$, and none farther north. The only vessels available were those used by the missionary communities along the coast of Sonora and New Galicia. They were small, badly found, and wholly inefficient to protect the coasts or to make explorations. There were two packet or mail boats that had lately been built at San Blas for duty along the coasts. The writer does not refer to the galleons that made their annual voyage to the Philippines.

The writer recalls the exploration of Vizcaíno, "who managed "to discover the Ports of San Diego and Monterey"; and the subsequent command of Phillip III. to occupy and people the Port of Monterey; but he overlooks the fact that on Thursday, the 27th of September, 1542, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovered the land-locked port of San Miguel [San Miguel Arcángel], which Vizcaíno renamed after his vessel. Vizcaíno entered the "famous harbor" with his ships on the evening of San Martin, November 10th, 1602. His chart designates it "El Puerto Bueno de San Diego."

under 42° , is the "B. di Todos Santos," and in $41^{\circ} 40'$ the "C. di Todos Santos." North of 42° is the legend giving the magnetic variation 11° N. E. This chart antedates the chart XXXIII of Dudley's Arcano del Mare of 1647; which has the Pacific Coast running N. N. W. to latitude 50° ; and at latitude $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ there is laid down the "Rio Incognito." In $41^{\circ} 45'$ the coast of Japan is laid down only 360 nautical miles distant to the westward.

Cape St. George (Crescent City) is in latitude $41^{\circ} 45'$; the Pelican Bay is in 42° ; and the Rogue River in $42^{\circ} 25'$. These latitudes agree well with the old charts and the authority quoted.

THE EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES OF ULLOA,
CABRILLO, FERRELO, DRAKE AND VIZCAINO ON
THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA,
1539 TO 1603.

Don Hernando Cortés, the Viceroy of Nueva-España,* was very anxious to carry the exploration of the coast of New Spain to the northwest, and his various expeditions had followed and delineated the eastern and western shores of the Mare Californiae,† but in 1536 the explorers had not gotten into the Pacific beyond the Cape San Lucas, in latitude $22^{\circ} 50'$, about 180 statute miles from the nearest part of the coast of Sinaloa.

In 1539 Don Francisco de Ulloa, with three small vessels, the *Santa Agueda*, *La Trinidad* and the *Santo Tomas*, made a gallant attempt at exploration of the coast to the northwest of Cape San Lucas through a whole season of adverse winds and currents. His vessels were wretchedly equipped and his crew attacked with scurvy. He never got farther than one hundred nautical miles north of Cerros Island, which is in latitude $28^{\circ} 10'$.

The chronicler then relates that the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, who had succeeded Cortés, had taken great interest in maritime affairs, and that he determined to outfit two vessels for the exploration of the coast beyond the parallel reached by Ulloa, Cabo del Engaño in $29^{\circ} 56'$. The expedition was placed under the command of Don Juan Rodrigues Cabrillo, a Portuguese of much experience in navigation; he had command of the *San Salvador*. The chief pilot was Bartolomé Ferrer (or Ferrelo) who was in command of *La Victoria*. The second pilot was Bartolomé Fernandez. There were two masters, Antonio Carrera and S. Remo.

The vessels were smaller than any of our coasting schooners. They were poorly built and very badly outfitted. Their anchors and iron work were carried by men from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific; they were manned by conscripts and natives; were badly provisioned, and the crews subject to that deadly scourge of the sea, scurvy.

They left Navidad, in latitude $19^{\circ} 13'$, at high noon of June 27th, 1542. The northwest winds were against them, and the Pacific

* Don Hernando Cortés, Marqués de el Valle, Gobernador Justicia Major, i Capitan General; en Nueva España. Herrera.

† Sometimes called the Mare de Cortés; Seno California o Mar de Cortés; Golfo de la California; Mar Bermejo or the Vermillion Sea on old Italian, Portuguese and English charts.

Coast current was adverse. They were three months reaching the rocky islet of Los Coronados, off the Bay of San Diego, a distance of only 1,300 nautical miles.

On the 28th of September they discovered the beautiful, land-locked Bay of San Diego, which they named San Miguel (Arcángel). Here they rode out their first gale from the "south-southwest." They had no knowledge whatever of the climatology of this northwest coast, which is wholly different from the west coast of Mexico. The dry season of Mexico is the rainy and stormy season of Upper California.

From San Diego they followed the coast, in pleasant weather, through the Santa Barbara Channel, upon whose populous shores a village of Indians was found wherever a stream of water reached the sea; as proven by the refuse of their shell-fish bones, arrow heads, etc.

At the western limit of the channel they were driven off Point Conception by another southwester, and anchored in Port Possession (now called Cuyler's Harbor) on the north shore of San Miguel, the westernmost of the Santa Barbara Islands, about twenty-three miles south from Point Conception. Here Cabrillo took possession of the country and named the harbor from that act.

With the beginning of a third southwester on Saturday, the 11th of November, they ran before it under the high, compact ocean walls of the Sierra de la Santa Lucia, whose peaks reach five thousand feet elevation above the sea at less than three nautical miles from the shore. With night the storm increased; the vessels could not carry a "hand's breadth of canvas," and scudding before the heavy seas they were separated. They saw nothing more of the immediate coast; and passed without seeing the high timbered hill of Point Pinos; the Loma Prieta of the San Francisco Peninsula north of Santa Cruz, 3,798 feet elevation; Mt. Tamalpais, north of the Golden Gate, 2,594 feet; and Point Reyes, 597 feet. On Tuesday, the fourteenth, they independently had sight of the mountain massif, 2,200 feet elevation, overhanging Fort Ross in latitude $38^{\circ} 31'$, and sought in vain for shelter on that rocky and forbidding coast.

This landfall, seventy-five miles northwest from the Golden Gate, they named "El Cabo de Pinos" on account of the heavy growth

of Douglas fir which here comes down to the sea, and is a distinguishing landmark for navigators.

The ships were again driven seaward, and each had a terrible experience; Cabrillo "vowed a pilgrimage to our Lady of the "Rosary, * * * and implored the blessed Mother of Pity for "her mercy, and she favored them with a little fair weather."

The gale veered, as usual, to the northwest, and on Wednesday, the fifteenth, the vessels got sight of each other, and sailed to the southeastward with a strong northwester and a large sea.

They probably saw King Peak, 4,090 feet, in latitude $40^{\circ} 09'$, but the most northerly land they clearly recognized was over Fort Ross; whose overhanging ridges were "grand sierras and covered with "snow; with many trees."

On this retreat they discovered the Gulf of the Farallones, and barely missed the Golden Gate. We quote the language of Ferrelo:

"On the following Thursday, the sixteenth of the said month of "November, at daybreak, they were upon a large gulf [una enseñadá "Grande], which was formed by a change of direction of the shore "which appeared to have a port and a river, and they went beat- "ing about this, day and night and the Friday following, until they "saw there was no river nor any shelter; and to take possession they "cast anchor in forty-five fathoms. They did not dare to land on "account of the high sea. This gulf is thirty and nine degrees and "more, and [the land] is all covered with pines to the sea. They "gave it the name 'La Bahía de los Pinos.' "

This gulf is that area of water outside the Golden Gate lying between the Farallones, Point Reyes Head, latitude $38^{\circ} 00'$, the Heads of the Golden Gate and Point San Pedro, latitude $37^{\circ} 35'$, at the south, covering nearly twelve hundred square miles.*

The vessels having fallen to leeward after rounding the western promontory of Point Reyes Head they were beating against the northwest wind to find shelter under the eastern promontory, where their nautical experience assured them of a harbor or an anchorage of quiet water under its protection; but the wind was too strong for their small and clumsy vessels.

* In the expedition of Comandante Fagés in 1772 it became known as "la Enseñada de los Farallones," and on the charts of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, it is named the Gulf of the Farallones.

Where they cast anchor in forty-five fathoms of water they must have been in the vicinity of the Southeast Farallon, which, however, is not mentioned in either narrative as a danger. They were then too far off shore to see the narrow cleft of the Golden Gate, which was far below their horizon. The error of their instrument was one degree and "more"; it gave the latitude too large.

Cabrillo and Ferrelo were therefore the first Europeans to see the hills of San Francisco and the islands of the two groups of the Farallones which are part of the City and County of San Francisco, on Thursday, the sixteenth of November, 1542.

We may add that the vessels sought refuge in Port Possession of San Miguel Island, where the commander, Cabrillo, died from an accident, and Ferrelo took command, with Bartolomé Fernandez as second. In January, 1543, the vessels made another heroic attempt toward the north; they again reached the coast at Fort Ross, and probably saw it as far north as Point Arena, in $38^{\circ} 57'$. Again they suffered fearfully in prolonged gales, and after super-human struggles were forced to retreat southward, but did not come in sight of the coast near the Gulf of the Farallones.

THE ANCHORAGE OF FRANCIS DRAKE UNDER POINT REYES, 1579.

On Wednesday, the 17th of June, 1579, thirty-seven years after the expedition of Cabrillo, Francis Drake, commanding the *Golden Hinde*, of one hundred tons, formerly the *Pelican*, driven from his anchorage at Chetko Cove on the coast of Oregon, in latitude $42^{\circ} 03'$, sought shelter in the harbor of refuge under the eastern promontory of Point Reyes Head.* Here he refitted his leaking vessel, took in wood and water, and built a bulwark of stone to protect his crew from possible attacks of the Indians. He took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and named it New Albion on account of the white cliffs bordering the bay, and which reminded him of his own country. The first map published after his voyage named the bay "Portus Novae Albionis."

One of the narrators of Drake's voyage says: "Not farre without "this harbrough lye certain islands (we called them the Islands of "Saint James), hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales "and birds, with one of which we found such prouision as might "completely serue our turne for a while. We departed againe the "next day following, viz., July 25." They landed on the Southeast Farallon, and secured "diuers Seals, or Sea Wolves. * * * They "are good meat, and are an acceptable food for vs for the present, "and a good supply of our prouision for the future."

Drake did not see the Golden Gate because he sailed directly from Drake's Bay to the North Farallones and then to the Southeast Farallon. The high lands of the northern peninsula overlapped those to the south of the Golden Gate; and moreover it was far below his horizon.

Nevertheless he was the first European who put his foot on that part of the City and County of San Francisco—the Southeast Farallon—on Friday, the 24th of July, 1579.

It is probable that Drake had become aware of the existence of this harbor of refuge from the papers which he had found on the Spanish ships captured April 6, 1579, two leagues off the coast of Nicaragua, near the Gulf of Fonseca. The name of this ship is

* "Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the year 1579." By Prof. George Davidson, Ph. D., Sc. D. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. California Historical Publication. 8vo., 68 p., 15 charts and views.

nowhere given, but on her was Don Franciseo Xarate, who was on his way to Panamá, whence he was bound for Manila with letters from the King of Spain to the Governor of Las Filipinas, and pilot charts and directions by which the course could be laid down. The possession of these charts and directions was the turning point in Drake's fortunes. He need not venture the return by the Strait of Magellan, for the coast of Mexico and of California to latitude 43° , was before his eyes; and the route through the Indies and by the Cape of Good Hope plain sailing. We believe his proposed attempt to find the Northeast passage to the Atlantic was a bald subterfuge. The galleons had made their return voyage to the landfall of Cape Mendocino, and then followed the coast southward; they had found what Cabrillo had ventured under Point Reyer, and Drake utilized their knowledge.

THE SAN AUGUSTIN WAS ORDERED TO EXPLORE THE COAST OF CALIFORNIA FOR HARBORS OF REFUGE.

The Haklayt Society's 1854 edition of the "World Encompassed" makes the following admission on page 117: "and that the north and northwest winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the north wind alone is in *August* and *September* we not only found it by our owne experience, but fully confirmed in our opinion thereof, by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards"; page 118.

We are therefore constrained to believe that the Spaniards were fairly well acquainted with the main features of the coast; that they had inherited the knowledge acquired by Cabrillo and Ferrelo of the Cabo de Pinos under Point Reyes Head, and had probably used Drake's Bay. The Spanish galleons returning to New Spain from Manila and the Ladrones had learned to keep a course well to the northward of east to take advantage of the southwest, west, and northwest winds of the North Pacific. They made the landfall on this coast as high as Cape Mendocino; but usually farther south in later years, even to Point Pinos and the Sierra Santa Lucia, the Cape San Martin of Cabrillo where we find the highest and boldest coast line in the world. The highest peak of this range can be seen at a distance of more than eighty nautical miles from sea.

After Drake's anchorage under Point Reyes and the exploits of Cavendish in 1586, the Spaniards were naturally aroused to make some systematic attempt to reconnoiter the coast more closely, and search for other harbors of refuge where the returning galleons might obtain wood, water an seal meat, be safe from stress of weather, and make repairs.

Upon the advice of Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco of Nueva España, the King of Spain ordered him to have such an exploration made. For this purpose the galleon *San Augustin* was placed, in April, 1594, under the command of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, a Portuguese navigator, who was ordered to make the California coast on his return from the Philippines, and carry a survey of the coast to the southward of his landfall. Near the close of 1595 the *San Augustin* made this coast in or about the latitude of Point Reyes, and Venegas gives the following statement of her loss in his account of the expedition of Vizcaino in 1602. His authority is the Mon-

archia Indiana of Father Juan de Torquemada, Lib. V. "Another reason which induced the Capitana [the *San Diego*] to put into Puerto Francisco was to take a survey of it, and see if anything was to be found of the ship *San Augustin*, which ran ashore in the year 1595; and which, by order of his Majesty and the Viceroy of New Spain, who was at that time Don Luis de Velasco, had been sent from the Filipinas by the Governor Gomez Peres Das Mariñas, to survey the coast of California under direction of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, a pilot of known abilities; and lying in that port was driven ashore by the violence of the on-shore wind. And among others on board the *San Augustin*, was the chief pilot, Francisco de Volaños, who was also chief pilot of this squadron. He recognized the place, and affirmed they had left ashore a great quantity of wax and chests of silks. And to see if there remained any vestiges of the ship and cargo the general [Vizcaíno] entered it."* He anchored in Drake's Bay, but no one was sent ashore and next day he continued his voyage to the north.

In the valuable publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, Vol. II, Part I, 1891, pages 19-23,† are two short extracts of official letters that give scanty particulars of the people who escaped from the wreck, which was a total loss.

These memoranda inform us there were seventy people and more on the *San Augustin*; that they fitted out the lancha and a *viroco* with which to make the attempt to reach Mexico, a distance of more than two thousand miles.

The *viroco* is a Philippine boat made out of a single tree, with the sides increased in height by planking. It has one or two square sails for running before the wind, and is aided by oars or sweeps. In this *viroco* were Juan de Morgana, pilot, four Spanish sailors, five Indians and a negro. They arrived at Acapulco January 31, 1596, and reported that a bare-footed Friar and another person had been drowned at the time of the wreck.

In the *lancha* were Captain Cermeño, pilot, boatswain and quartermaster, the rest of the officers, crew and passengers. The

* "History of California," * * * by Father Miguel Venegas; London, 1759. Two vols. Vol. II, pages 288-289. We have, however, corrected this translation from the original.

†Documents from the Sutro Collection: quoted.

two boats had continued together as far as Navidad, where the captain and his people landed. Some of this party reached Mexico via Guadalaxara, and the officers tried to inculpate each other.

This boat voyage was an extraordinary adventure; Navidad on the Mexican coast is in latitude $19^{\circ} 13'$, and about 2,150 miles from Point Reyes.

Acaupulco is in latitude $16^{\circ} 50'$ and 310 miles farther than Navidad.

From the fewness of the people in the *viroco* we judge it was exceedingly small; and the official opinion was expressed that "the 'vessel being so small it seems miraculous she should have reached 'this country with so many people on board.'"^{*}

Neither of the memoranda give particulars of the wreck or the exact locality, beyond the vessel having been "lost on a coast where 'she struck and went to pieces,'" about two miles east of Point Reyes.

In this attempt at surveying the coast of California, the entrance to San Francisco Bay was passed by the boats; nor is it recorded that any landing or anchorage was made. Morgana declared the retreat was made by sailing day and night from point to point. Clearly it was a case of life or starvation; and recalls Bligh's memorable boat trip across the Pacific after the mutiny of the Bounty (1789).

* Costansó's letter of October 9, 1770, to Señor Secretário Don Melchor de Peramas—"Out West," January, 1902, page 59—when mentioning Cabrera's account of the loss of the San Augustin, says: "Some Mariners of its Crew, 'with the Pilot, saved themselves. Who, traversing the immense Country 'which intervenes between said Port and New Biscay, arrived at the end 'of many days at Sombrereto, a Mining Camp of that Government, bordering 'upon New Galicia.'" The editor remarks in a footnote: "The tramp of these 'shipwrecked men from San Francisco to Central Mexico must rank as one 'of the most remarkable journeys ever recorded."

THE EXPEDITION OF SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO, 1602-'03.

This expedition was undertaken to learn something of the wreck of the *San Augustin*, which was laden with a valuable cargo, and part of which had been cached within sight of Point Reyes.

On Wednesday, the 22nd of May, 1602, General Sebastián Vizcaíno with several vessels left the port of Navidad, Mexico, for further explorations on the northwest coast. We need not follow him along the coast until he reaches the vicinity of Monterey Bay. He describes Pt. Sur very well, latitude $36^{\circ} 18'$, and the river Carmel, which he named el Rio del Carmelo. "Two leagues farther northward of the river Carmelo there is a famous port, and between this and the river there is a forest of pine trees two leagues in extent, and there is a point of land at the entrance to the harbor that is called Punta de Pinos."

This discovery was made December 16, 1602.*

On Tuesday, the 7th day of January, 1603, the Capitana *San Diego*, having been separated from the Fragata *Los Tres Reyes* in a northwest gale of wind, came to anchor in the Portus Novæ Albionis of the Hondius chart, which is marked on the reduced chart of Vizcaíno's plans as Po. de los Reyes. Venegas says that no one landed from the vessel, which left the next day, although the narrative says that he was anxious to learn if anything was to be found of the ship *San Augustin*, of which we have already given a brief account.

The thirty-two plans of Vizcaíno's reconnaissance by Martin lay hidden for two hundred years, when they were exhumed by the officers of the *Sutil y Mexicana*, and made known in 1802. We find his cartographer has located Point Reyes Head well, and noted some of its characteristics.

The Southeast Farallon is placed somewhat erroneously with reference to the northern group, and to the shore. The Northwest Farallones are fairly well located. He was the first to give a specific name to Point Reyes Head of which he designates the eastern promontory "La Punta de las Barrancas blancas": that is

* Venegas; Spanish edition 1757, pages 100, 101; English edition 1759, Vol. II, page 282.

"Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539 to 1603," by George Davidson. Washington, 1887. U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. page 213.

the Point of the White Cliffs. He also changed the name the "Islands of St. James," which Drake had given to the Southeast Farallon upon which he had landed, to "Isla Hendido," which is characteristic.

Although Vizcaíno's general chart is remarkably good, he gives no sign of the Golden Gate, doubtless on account of the adverse weather, and the wild and dangerous appearance of the Farallones.

To him must be given credit for the first authentic presentation on paper of the Farallones, now part of the City and County of San Francisco.

Notwithstanding Vizcaíno failed to see the Golden Gate there is one locality very near it which still bears the name of his pilot, Volaños or Bolaños, who had been pilot on the *San Augustin* according to the history of Father Miguel Venegas; Ballenas Point and Ballenas Bay. In the early days of California many spellings were given to that name; the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey settled on Ballenas; but in 1901 the Board of Geographic Names had decided upon Bolinas.

From the time of this exploration of Vizcaíno to the proposed voyage of Captain James Cook, Spain made no further efforts at discovery and exploration on the northwest coast of North America.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE PORTOLA EXPEDITIONS OF 1769 BY LAND AND BY SEA TO NUEVA CALIFORNIA.

In a Junta at San Blas, convened May 16, 1768, over which the Visitador General Gálvez presided, it was determined to use the new mail boats *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* in the expeditions to be fitted out for the occupation of Alta California.

We need not follow in detail the slow but tireless labors of the Visitador to arrange for the setting forth of two expeditions from the Gulf of California to San Diego, one by land and one by sea; and thence to the Port of Monterey. The slowness may be illustrated by the *San Carlos* (el capitana) requiring one hundred and ten days for the short voyage from San José del Cabo to San Diego; and the *San Antonio* making it in fifty-four days. It must be remembered that the boats were small, ill-found, and most of the crews either conscripts or Indians unaccustomed to the duties of a sailor. Then there were the long weeks of calm weather that prevails in those southern waters; and on the outer coast the ceaseless current and prevailing winds from the northwest. The provisions were coarse; all meats were either dried or saturated with salt, and really unfit for human food.

But worse than slowness was the deplorable condition of the crews from scurvy. On the *San Carlos* only four mariners were able to stand, and two had died. On the *San Antonio* every one was ill, and two had died. After their arrival at San Diego, and with all possible care, two or three of the crew died daily; and before two weeks had passed this sea expedition of over ninety men was reduced to eight soldiers and eight seaman fit for duty. Human life was cheap. Further efforts of the sea expedition proved a dead failure.

The expedition by land was divided into two parties at the Mission de Velicatá which is situated on the Peninsula of California in about latitude $30^{\circ} 20'$ and twenty miles from the Pacific coast according to the map of Costansó.

Provisions were bought from the Mission of Santa María situated thirty miles to the eastsoutheast, and herds of cattle and mules were gathered. Forty men of the California Company and thirty Indians were to accompany the expedition to San Diego. But the animals were unfit to be driven across the desert lands until the

month of March, 1769, when the scouting party under the command of the Captain of the Presidio of Loreto, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, commenced the march on the 24th of that month.

On the 15th of May the second division left Velicatá under the command of the Governor of the Peninsula, Don Gáspar de Portolá, accompanied by the aged President of the Missions of California, the Most Reverend Father Fray Junípero Serra.

On the 14th of May the scouting party of the land expedition arrived at San Diego without having lost a man, and with only one of them ill; yet they had been reduced to an allowance of two tortillas a day. Under such adverse circumstances, and with so many people unable to do duty, the leaders determined to send the *San Antonio* to San Blas for provisions and more men.

Before that project was carried into execution Governor Portolá arrived on the 29th of June with 163 mules loaded with provisions. He promptly informed himself of the condition of affairs, and, desirous that the expedition by sea should be carried out, he proposed to Don Vicente Vila, commanding the *San Antonio*, to furnish sixteen men from his own party in order to work the vessel to Monterey. But as there was no sailor among them, and as Captain Vila "had lost all his ship's Officers, Boatswain, Storekeeper, and 'Coxswain of the Launch, he could not accept the offer."

The Governor considered that these unexpected mishaps to the vessels did not excuse him from continuing his expedition by land. Part of the provisions of the *San Antonio* had already been transferred to the *San Carlos*, and she was to carry them to Monterey to succor the land party, but she never reached there.

The *San Antonio*, with only eight men as her crew, was dispatched to San Blas with reports from Governor Portolá of the condition of affairs to the Viceroy and to the Visitador General.

We have now only to record the labors of the expedition by land under the immediate command of the Governor of the Peninsula of California, Don Gáspar de Portolá, Captain of Dragoons in the regiment of Spain. In the party was the competent observer and engineer, Don Miguel Costansó, a captain in the army, who constructed a chart of the coast, and made a detailed report of the exploration. With this expedition were the Franciscan friars, the Reverend Fathers Francisco Gomez, and Juan Crespi; and the

latter has furnished an itinerary. He was evidently a man of much vigor.

After leaving provisions and men at the site of the new Mission of San Diego the Governor started northward on the 16th of June, 1769, with Don Pedro Fagés, Don Miguel Costansó and Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez. He took only one hundred packages of provisions, trusting for relief from the *San Carlos*.

The expedition was organized in a practical and effective manner; the Commandante in the lead with the officers and six men of the Catalonian Volunteers [Voluntarios de Cataluña] and some friendly Indians with spades, mattocks, crowbars, axes and other implements used by pioneers. After them the pack train, divided into four bands with their muleteers and a number of garrison soldiers with each band. In the rear guard came the rest of the troops and friendly Indians under command of Captain Don Fernando Rivera. This guard had charge of the relays of horses and mules.

The number of persons in the expedition was sixty-five; of whom two were servants to the first and second commanders, twenty-seven were soldados de Cuera, seven were soldados voluntarios de la Compañía francesa de Cataluña, seven were packers, and fifteen were Christian Indians from Lower California. The number of animals is not mentioned by Costansó or Crespi.

LA PUNTA DE PINOS OF THE EARLY NAVIGATORS: CARMEL BAY AND RIVER.

The first point of present interest in this expedition is La Loma de la Punta de Pinos, and the "famous Port of Monterey." Therefore, before we examine the diaries of the narrators, we propose to introduce some authorities for the former name. This is the more necessary because the present usage assigns the name Point Pinos to the single northwest spur of the broad, pine clad hill between eight and nine hundred feet high that governs Monterey Harbor and Carmel Bay. Coming from the southward the whole hill is the first headland on the coast made as pine clad so close to the shores around it. It was notable on that account. We add also a few remarks about Carmel Bay and Carmel River whence the exploration of November 29th to December 9th, 1769, was made along the rocky ocean front of the Sierra Santa Lucia.

The first authority for the name is General Sebastian Vizcaíno in his voyage of discovery and exploration of 1602-03. On his chart* there is no mistaking the point, the port, the anchorage, and the reference to Point Sur, although the scale is quite small, nineteen leagues to one inch; and no latitudes are given on the whole coast from Cape San Lucas to the northward of Cape Mendocino. In the immediate vicinity the chart notes "Pta. qe. parece Isla," which is the Sur, "Pta. de Pinos," "Pto. de Monte Rey," "P. de Año Nuevo" which is really the mountain mass overlooking Point Santa Cruz, and not the Point Año Nuevo of our charts. The scale is too small to admit his laying down Carmel Bay and Carmel River, but in his letter of December 28, 1602, from the "Puerto demonte Rey," in stating that the Philippine vessels may resort here in distress, he adds "there is a great extent "of pine forest from which to obtain masts and yards, even though "the vessel be of a thousand tons burthen, and live oaks and white "oaks for shipbuilding, and this close to the seaside in great number." And in his letter of May 23, 1603, when in Mexico, he declares "on the immediate coast there are pines from which masts

* "Carta de los reconocimientos hechos en 1602." Por el Capitán Sebastian Vizcayno formada por los Planos que hizo él mismo durante su comision. Atlas of the voyage of the "Sutil" and "Mexicana," 1802.

"of any desired size can be obtained, as well as live oaks and white "oaks," etc.*

The report published by Venegas is more explicit and more comprehensive. He says, page 282, Volume II:

"Four leagues farther [north of the Sur] a river enters into the "sea between some rocks, after a precipitate course from some high "and white mountains [Pico Blanco and others covered with snow]; "the banks of this stream are covered with black and white poplars, "willows, and other trees and brambles known in Spain. This is "el Rio del Carmelo.

"Two leagues farther northward of the River Carmelo there is "a famous port, and between this and the river is a forest of pine "trees two leagues in extent, and there is a point of land at the "entrance to the harbor that is called la Punta de Pinos."

The port was named el Puerto de Monte-Rey in honor of Don Antonio de Mendoza, the Count of Monte-Rey, then Viceroy of Spain.

This description limits the name to the present Point Pinos. The next available authority is the "Carta Prima Generale d' America" of the Arcano del Mare of Dudley,† which shows clearly the headland between "Po. de Moncerei" with an anchor, and the Bay of Carmel which is, however, unnamed. Off Point Pinos he locates an island which never existed, and names the point "C. S. Barbera"; Point Cypress is "C. S. Agostino"; and the coast adjacent to the southward is the "Costa di muchios Arboledos." The latitude of Point Pinos is $36\frac{1}{3}$ °, but the scale is small. We have not his volumes now to refer to his description. The name of Point Pinos was continued as "P. de S. Barbera" on the map of Arnoldus Montanus, English edition, 1672.

In De Fer's Atlas, 1709, it is called "P. de Carinde."

Herman Moll's map, two hemispheres, has Po. de Monterey, about latitude 37°.

* Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California. * * *

Los Angeles, 1891; page 71.

†"Dell' Arcano del Mare, di D. Roberto Dvdleo Dvca di Northvmbria, e Conti di V Varvich, Libri Sei. * * * Al Serenissimo Ferdinando Secondo Gran Dvca di Toscana suo Signore, * * * In Firenze, Nella Stamperia di Francesco Onofri, 1646. Conlicenza de' SS. Superiori." Royal Folio, 3 vols., 1630, 1646, 1647; Library of Harvard University.

Cabrera Bueno in his *Derrotero* of 1734 says: "the coast stretches out at a point of low land heavily timbered down to the shore, and named Punta de los Pinos which is in latitude 37 degrees. As seen from the northwest it is a small hill, two leagues in length northeast to southwest and all covered with pine trees."

The chart used by Venegas was found in Mexico in 1739, and thereon is the name "B. de Pinos," in latitude $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. But this certainly refers to the "Baia de Pinos" of Cabrillo, and "La Bahia de los Pinos" of his colleague, Ferrelo, who placed it in latitude " 39° and more."* The cape that forms the Bay of Pines of Cabrillo and Ferrelo is really the "Punta de los Reyes" of Vizcaino the northern point of the Gulf of the Farallones; and the error of his [Cabrillo's] instrument gave the latitude of the place one degree and more too great, as we have shown in the work just referred to.

On the Spanish chart which Lord Anson has presented in his "Voyage Round the World" in 1741-42, published in London, 1748, page 384, "Pta. de Pinos" is laid down in latitude 36° .

On Dalrymple's copy of a Spanish chart ante-dating the Portolá expedition Carmel Bay is denoted "po de Pinos" and the Carmel River is the "R. del Carmelo." The northern part of Monterey Bay is the "Po. de Monterey" with soundings leading in 15, 10 and 6 fathoms. The great point between the two bays is "Pa. de Pinos." It is on this chart that he insets the "Famous Port" of San Francisco in latitude $37^{\circ} 13'$ [$37^{\circ} 49'$] from a Spanish Ms. chart. Dalrymple published it in 1790; in 1789 he had published another chart with this bay upon it from the same authority.

None of the authorities refer to the line of sand dunes which lie along the ocean front of the present Point Pinos nearly to Point Cypress, and yet they are a marked feature. And after the point had been well examined in 1769 and 1770 this was not referred to, but there was decided differences about the size of the trees.

We also present an extract from Father Crespi's letter of February 6, 1770, to Father Francisco Paloú, thirteen days after he

* "An Examination of Some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America, from 1539 to 1603." George Davidson * * *. Appendix No. VII, Annual Report of Superintendent U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1886. Separate edition, quarto, 105 pp. and chart.

arrived at the Mission of San Diego de Alcalá with the first expedition. To him the whole "loma" of pines was the Punta de Pinos, and he saw no large trees thereon. He writes:

"We have not met with Monterey on the whole march. If it exists or not I do not know. We encountered the Sierra Santa Lucia which is a very high range, white, rough and very precipitous towards the sea, and in every respect as Cabrera describes it. At six or eight leagues we came upon una Punta de Pinos which is the only one which we saw on the whole journey. We explored that Sierra twice with the greatest care possible, and Point Pinos, according to my observations is in latitude 36° 42'. Where this point of pines begins [on the south] there is a small bay [una Encenadita] which may have a length of a quarter of a league, and which runs inland, and from there Point Pinos extends and not as the narratives say; and I can assure your Reverence that I did not see one [tree] on the whole point which would serve for yards or masts for these vessels; and the said point ending where it does, there then begins a great gulf [una grandisima Ensenada] of twenty leagues at least so far as Point Año Nuevo."

The first expressions of opinion with regard to the port, the Indians and the trees were adverse to Vizcaíno; but on the second examination the judgment was favorable. Father Crespi writes:*

"When the Señor Comandante, the Father Missionary and Lieutenant Fagés made the circuit of Point of Pines, they found it thickly covered with these trees, many of them very large and fit for masts of ships; they also came upon a grove of cypress on the point of the enseñadita that is on the south side of Point Pinos." [Carmel Bay.]

Eleven days after Father Crespi had arrived at Monterey on the second expedition and had made the circuit of the Point with Comandante Portolá and others, he wrote to Very Reverend Father Guardian Fray Juan Andres at San Diego, under date of June 11, 1770, two days before the *San Antonio* returned to San Diego with the Comandante Portolá en route to San Blas: "It is a beautiful sight to behold the pines of all shapes and sizes which cover the summit of Point Pinos." ["Es un primos ver la pineria qe tiene La Loma de punta de Pinos de todos tamanos."]

* "Noticias," etc. Volume II, pages 264-65.

THE CIRCUIT OF POINT PINOS FROM MONTEREY HARBOR TO CARMEL RIVER.

The circuit of Point Pinos made by the Comandante and his associates reckoned from the harbor to the Carmel River is close to four and one-half leagues according to the chart of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. He estimated the distance four leagues. The topographical surveys of 1851 and 1852 give a clear idea of the conditions then existing, and which were assuredly the same as in 1770. On this chart is the lagoon just east of the old town of Monterey, and stretching west between the town and the beach. There is the stream that ran through the town and passed near the Spanish headquarters, and emptied into the lagoon. The lagoon just inside the beach extended east and west about half a mile; and it had no opening into the sea.

On this chart the principal jutting point between the presidio and the Point of Pines is named "Almeja or Mussel Rock," and lies one and one-third geographic miles from the landing place. The northwestern extremity of Point Pinos is nearly three geographic miles northwest from the landing, and cannot be seen therefrom on account of the projection of Almeja Point.

When Governor Portolá, Father Crespi and others went about half a league from the camp at Monterey to learn if the second cross of December 10th, 1769, was still standing, it appears highly probable that Point Almeja was the location thereof.

It was on this circuit of Point Pinos that Comandante Portolá discovered the grove of cypress, at the northwest point of Carmel Bay.

The pine trees of La Loma de Pinos are usually designated as the Monterey Pine; their botanical name is *Pinus radiata*, Don. Until recently *Pinus insignia*, Dougl. They are confined to a narrow belt a few miles wide on this coast from Pescadero Creek to San Simeon Bay; and on the Islands Santa Rosa and Santa Cruz, and on Guadalupe Island. The Monterey cypress is the *Cupressus Macrocarpa*, Gord., and is restricted to the immediate vicinity of Point Cypress, and to Point Lobos on the south side of Carmel Bay. At Point Cypress it is reported there were about four hundred trees.

CARMEL BAY AND RIVER.

Carmel Bay lies under the south shore of La Loma de la Punta de Pinos. To the south of it is the northern termination of the high, rugged Sierra de Santa Lucia.

It is broad open to the west; and the northwest point is Cypress, and the southwest point is Carmel, formerly Lobos, 240 feet high. From the southern shoulder of Point Cypress to Point Carmel the distance is three miles; and the shore of the bay retreats eastward from that line one and three-quarters miles. In the northeast part of the bay are numerous rocks and small fields of kelp, but small vessels can anchor here and at the southeast part with safety in normal weather.

From the northeast part of the bay to the port of Monterey the distance by land is less than four statute miles, and this comparatively narrow neck makes a quasi peninsula of La Loma de la Punta de Pinos.

The Mission church is distinctly made out by vessels passing along the coast, although it faces nearly east.

The geographic peculiarity of the bay is the existence of one of the remarkable submerged or submarine valleys that are found on the California Coast. Deep water heads in close to the mouth of San José Creek; and outside, at the normal one hundred fathoms line, the depth is over three hundred fathoms.

This bay is the “enseñadita” of the expedition of 1769, “una nueva enseñada mediana,” “está Enseñada,” “la Enseñadita”; and “la segunda enseñada de la banda del Sur de dicha punta de Pinos,”* of the expedition of 1770.

Costansó first mentions the River Carmelo on the 23rd of September, 1769, before he reached the Salinas River. The name must have been given when they knew more of the streams they encountered. He and Father Crespi mention it again on the 26th, but they had not seen it.

The Bay of Carmel is not referred to until its discovery when the expedition was on its return to San Diego. Governor Portolá reached Monterey Harbor November 27th, and on the 28th determined to search for the Puerto de Monterey to the southward, so the party passed over the eastern flank of the Loma of Point Pinos

* “Noticias,” Father Paloú. Vol. II, page 262.

to a camp on Carmel Bay. They passed over an "estero," which was the Carmel River.

Costansó writes they found "a spacious valley through which "runs the River Carmel, and in which grass grows so luxuriantly "as to cover a man on horseback, which shows the great fertility "of the soil. The productions are walnut, hazel and cherry trees "as in Europe, the sarsaparilla, the rose and yerba buena (mint). "In the mountains are black and white oak, and very large live "oaks which produce good acorns, pines which produce nuts in "abundance, groves of juniper and cypress, and other trees."

It is a question whether the river at that time of the year had direct communication with the waters of Carmel Bay. Many of the smaller streams on this coast are closed at the mouth during the dry season, and are re-opened in the rainy season.

The discovery ships *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* under Don Alejandro Malaspina anchored in the harbor of Monterey September 12th, 1791, and made a survey hence around Point Pinos to Point Carmel. The plan of that survey is found in the Atlas of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, and it clearly shows the river Carmelo emptying into a lagoon and not into the sea.*

Duflot de Mofras copied this plan of Malaspina without any credit, and has simply added a few names. It is drawn even to the same scale. Date 1841.

On Sunday, December 2nd, 1792, Vancouver visited Monterey and the San Carlos Mission and was treated with exuberant hospitality. He writes of the river:† "Through this valley a small "brook of water about knee-deep, called by the Spaniards Rio de "Carmelo, takes its course, passes the buildings of the mission, and "immediately empties itself into the sea." His chart does not show any river.

Of recent maps of authority we find on Chart No. 615 of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1876, on a large scale, that the river opened directly into Carmel Bay by a good wide mouth.

* "Viaje Político-Científico Alrededor del Mundo," por las Corbetas Des-
cubierta y Atrevida al Mando de los Capitanes de Navió D. Alejandro Ma-
laspina y Don José de Bustamente y Guerra desde 1789 á 1794. * * * Madrid.
* * * 1885. Folio, 682 pages, map, illustrations. Index, pages 176-178.

† "Vancouver," Vol. II, page 35.

At this writing, August, 1904, the mouth of the river is closed, and we are informed that it was closed the previous year. In the rainy seasons it is open.

The small stream two-thirds of a mile south of Carmel River is the San José Creek; and between these two streams, on the plateau overlooking the bay, was erected the first cross.

THE NARRATIVES OF THE LAND EXPEDITION IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING THE DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY: FROM OCTOBER 23RD TO NOVEMBER 11TH; AND FROM NOVEMBER 28TH TO DECEMBER 10TH, 1769.

After three months of weary travel for two hundred leagues, the Portolá expedition by land reached the latitude of Vizcaino's "famous Port of Monterey," but could discover no port after several days' search. They were evidently misled by the use of the designation "Puerto," such as they had left at San Diego; an enclosed harbor and not an open bay, bight or roadstead. Vizcaino had praised San Diego, but Monterey was declared equally a famous port.

In the search by the explorers near Monterey they found the line of high sand dunes which formed the shore line, and four lagoons behind them. Some persons imagined that the port had been "swallowed up by the land," and that these lagoons were the last signs of the port. The engineer says they thought Vizcaino's latitude might be erroneous, and the Comandante determined that the expedition should continue its toilsome march farther northward.

They did not know the character of Sebastian Vizcaino, of which we have some evidence in the work we have quoted. His previous report of the expedition he made to the Gulf of California is erroneous and can not be reconciled with modern charts; his stories of people in the interior are simply extravagant exaggerations. Afterwards, when examining this coast (1602), he declared "the port [of Monterey] is sheltered from all winds." On shore he found chestnuts (evidently backeyes) and acorns larger than those of Spain. Amongst many animals he saw ganado vacuno y cibolas (black cattle and Mexican bulls). "Others as large as wolves, and "shaped like a stag, with a skin resembling that of a pelican; a "long neck, and horns on the head as large as those of a stag, their "tail is a yard in length, and half a yard in breadth, and their "hoof cloven like that of an ox." They also found a large bird, "being seventeen spans from the tip of one wing to that of the "other, the largest seen during the whole voyage."*

* "Venegas," Vol. II, page 287.

He found the natives using flax, hemp and cotton; they were well acquainted with gold and silver. Most remarkable of all was his report of the trend of the coast northward of latitude 42°. According to his statement it trends toward Japan and the coast of China, which are but a short run away.

He was a reckless romancer, but Portolá and Costansó and Father Crespi did not know that fact; and they had no copies of his charts, which lay hidden for nearly two hundred years.

After much earnest conference, and consultation of the Coast Pilot of Cabrera Bueno, Portolá determined to examine the coast line to the northward, notwithstanding the provisions had run low, and that every one of the party was ill. It was the decision of a masterful leader, and led to remarkable results; it reawakened Spain.

We shall not refer to the progress of the party until it reached the camp at Año Nuevo Creek, within sight of the low point, Año Nuevo. Thence we shall give the main items of interest until the progress of the expedition is barred from the seashore by the termination of the backbone of the Peninsula of San Francisco at Point San Pedro. After that we shall give the diary in detail.

In order to locate Portolá's daily positions from Point Año Nuevo, in latitude 37° 06½', to the camp of the 30th of October, one mile and a quarter north of Point Montara in latitude 37° 33', we appeal to the contoured maps of the United States Geological Survey. These are on a good scale, so that we are able to plat closely the line of travel of the expedition, and to measure the distances. We can then work from either end of the traveled line.

Of course, the distances which are assigned in the diaries to each day's travel can not be taken as more than estimates, but they were made by two competent officers.

The southern end of our proposed line is near Point Año Nuevo, which they well describe as Punta de Piedras, and recognized it from the description given by Cabrera Bueno.

We place their encampment of Sunday, October the 23rd, on the Año Nuevo Creek. We are guided to this judgment by the difficulties which they met just before reaching that location. Costansó says they worked all the morning with the crowbar in opening a road to the "Cañada de Salud" which was one league from their previous encampment at "El Alto del Jamon," (El

Alto de Jumin of Father Crespi). The map indicates the difficult character of the locality.

The northern part of the journey to October 30th we place at the creek one mile north of the Montara Fog Signal, where the mountain crowds down to the seashore, and bars farther progress.

Between these two locations the tentative line we have drawn is thirty geographic miles long. Costansó gives the following distances for that interval:

From the Cañada de Salud to the Rancheria de Casa

Grande	2 leagues
Casa Grande to the Valley Los Soldados de los Cursos . . .	4 leagues
Los Soldados de los Cursos to the Rancheria de las Pulgas.	2 leagues
Las Pulgas to the Llano de los Ansares	2 leagues
Los Ansares to El Rincon de las Alamejas	1 league

Whole distance traveled 11 leagues

This is certainly a satisfactory showing, and no proportion for scale reduction is necessary.

We note that he mentions whole leagues and two "short leagues," and we must be governed mainly by conditions necessary for a good camping ground: viz., firewood, fresh water and pasture; and the bearings and descriptions of the narrator. Following the expedition northward we recognize the following stopping places:

La Cañada de la Salud is the Año Nuevo Creek of the present maps; it is locally known as Big Gulch. From the mouth, the lighthouse on Año Nuevo Island lies S. 52° W. one and three-quarter miles. Father Crespi named it La Cañada de San Luis Beltran, and he estimated Point Año Nuevo to be one league distant from the camp. He conjectured this point to be the northern extremity of the Port of Monterey. The party rested here two days and were so much refreshed by the rains that he renamed it La Cañada de la Salud.

Costansó observed for latitude and obtained $37^{\circ} 03'$; Father Crespi says he made it $37^{\circ} 22'$; the true latitude is $37^{\circ} 06\frac{1}{2}'$.

From this place they moved two leagues in three hours (Crespi) to another camp named La Rancheria de la Casa Grande. "The "Punta de Piedras which we passed on the road is the point known "by the name Año Nuevo, the latitude of which with slight differ- "ence is the same as shown by the observations in the Cañada de

"la Salud." The line of country offered no obstructions, and the maps have the marsh and lakes which they passed. They crossed the present Whitehouse and Gazos Creeks, and encamped a short distance east of Pigeon Point where there is a roadstead open to the south. Here they found a rancheria with a large, notable spherical structure which they named the Casa Grande, but of which we find no record or tradition. There was a good arroyo with water, fresh pasture for the animals, and plenty of firewood. The natives were very friendly. Father Crespi says he dedicated it to San Juan Nepomuceno.

We prefer this location of the Casa Grande to the mouth of the Gazos Creek, two miles to the southeast, and are fortified in our judgment by correspondence with the United States Light-house keeper at Pigeon Point. The plains, arroyo with water, Indian shell mounds and redwood in the hills near the plains confirm the narratives. But there is no tradition about the Casa Grande.

On Tuesday, October 24th, the party started under the guidance of two Indians from Casa Grande, and traveled four leagues to a camp at a rancheria not named by Costansó, but which we fix at the San Gregorio Creek. We follow the journey of this day somewhat closely because it was long, and the party met with considerable difficulty. They encountered slopes that required work to make them passable for the animals. They crossed the Frijoles Creek and reached the Pescadero Creek, where they found the Indians had nearly all left to gather seeds and pinole in the hills. They called this the deserted rancheria. They describe the country as blessed with abundance of water, fine pastures and excellent land. The Pescadero is the largest stream along this stretch of coast, and here Father Crespi declared for a mission, to be dedicated to San Pedro Regalado, which name he applied to the location.

The Pescadero was estimated to be two leagues from the Casa Grande; and that is very nearly correct.

The next two leagues were made over a rolling country, and the road was rough. There were several streams, a fertile soil, and finer Indians than hitherto met. Father Crespi says the blackberry bushes were so thick they impeded progress.

As the animals were tired and the men ill, we cut half a league

from their estimates and locate the camp at or near the mouth of the San Gregorio Creek, which, for good reasons, they designated Las Soldados de los Cursos; but Father Crespi dedicated it to Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo.

During October 25th and 26th, the expedition rested. Nearly all were very ill, officers and men; and the animals tired.

On Friday, the 27th, they traveled two short leagues in three hours, and encamped at a stream with little water and no firewood. We place their stopping place at the Purissima Creek, on the south bank. The country traveled this day was rough and difficult, and when approaching the Tunitas Creek they had to prepare the trail down the steep banks; but they do not mention the stream. Crespi refers to the bold cliffs, and the profound descents at three arroyos.

Father Crespi named the station El Arroyo de San Ibon; and Costansó named the Indian rancheria on the north or right bank La Rancheria de las Pulgas, for good reason.

On Saturday, October 28th, Costansó writes they traveled two leagues northward from the Rancheria de las Pulgas to El Llano de los Ansares [the plain of the wild geese], and Father Crespi and Father Gomez said mass, and then the train started at ten o'clock and made two leagues in two and a half hours. They encamped close to the mouth of the Pilarcitos Creek, one and one-third leagues north from the Purissima. From this encampment Costansó writes: "To the northwest we saw a great point of land "that reaches far into the sea, and at the extremity much low "land with many great rocks which appear as farallones that "run to the westward." Later he describes "two farallones of "very irregular figure with peaked tops."

The point of land lying to the northwest and forming the roadstead of Half Moon Bay, open to the south, is the Pillar Point of our charts; it is an extensive mesa that rises to 181 feet at the middle, and was called the Corral de Tierra by the early Californians. One of the two principal farallones lying one-fifth of a mile from the point is about one hundred feet high, very sharp peaked and split from top to bottom. It is named the Steeple, Sail or Pillar Rock on different charts and maps. It is a well-known landmark to our navigators.

Under date of the 30th, Father Crespi describes the anchorage of Half Moon Bay as a good small bay, "una buena enseñadita."

Both narrators describe the encampment as affording no firewood, and that grass was used instead. The mesas were of fertile soil, and the stream full of water.

Costansó estimated the latitude of the camp as $37^{\circ} 20'$, Father Crespi named $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, while the charts give $37^{\circ} 28'$.

On account of the vast numbers of wild gees on the plains bordering Half Moon Bay, Portolá named the camp El Llano de les Ansares; but Father Crespi named the Arroyo Los Santos Apóstoles San Simon y San Judas [Tadeo]. Neither of them named Pillar Point which formed the northwestern limit of the anchorage.

The narratives again speak of the illness of every member of the expedition; the medicines were nearly gone, there was a short allowance of flour for tortillas, the meat was so reduced that they contemplated the killing of the weakest mules, while the plains were covered with geese and the rocky shores were coated with mussels and aulones. On the night of the 28th the rain fell heavily, and the roads were soft, therefore Portolá, who was very ill, decided to rest the party during the 29th.

On Monday, the 30th, the expedition left the camp on the Pilarcitos and reached the creek one mile north of the Montara Fog Signal, where their progress was effectually blocked by the southwestern flank of Montara Mountain reaching the shore. The latitude of the mountain is $37^{\circ} 35'$; elevation, 1940 feet.

Costansó writes that they had traveled one league from the Llano de los Ansares, passing Pillar Point to the west of their course; and Crespi writes that they made two leagues in three and a half hours. The description of the country is accurately given by both narrators. They crossed four or five deep ditches [zanjones] filled with water, and some of which required the building of bridges to get the animals over. Father Crespi says that Half Moon Bay is "una buena enseñadita," and that the plains would be a good site for a pueblo if there were firewood. They kept on the east side of the Mesa Miramontez, stretching one mile northwest from Pillar Point.

We accept the statement of Father Crespi as to the distance traveled. At the foot of the rocky barrier which confronted them ran a small stream from the mountains. This stream is now known as Martini's Creek. The barrier formed a "rinconada" and shelter from the north winds, and Costansó writes that the place was after-

wards known as El Rincon de las Almejas, on account of the vast quantity of shell fish, mussels and aulones, on the rocks at the seaside; and Father Crespi writes that he named it La Punta del [Santo] Angel Custodio.

In the afternoon the sergeant was sent out to find a passage over the promontory of the Montara Mountains.

The geographic position of this camp of the 30th has always been in some doubt, but with the different narratives before us, a personal acquaintance of the locality, and the contoured maps of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, we have satisfactorily solved the difficulty. It was one mile and a quarter northward of the present Montara Steam Fog Signal Station, and two miles southward of the northern extremity of Point San Pedro.*

On Tuesday, the 31st of October, after the sergeant and soldiers had cut a trail across the high, steep ridge to the north, the expedition crossed this difficulty, and made one league only that day. This well-known headland is the rocky, abrupt, ocean termination of the mountain ridge that stretches hence southeastward through the Peninsula of San Francisco, and in fifty statute miles attains an elevation of 3,798 feet at Loma Prieta, in latitude $37^{\circ} 07'$. Where the later Indian trail crossed it the height is over one thousand feet, but this party may have crossed it somewhat lower. When the party reached the top they descried what they denominated "una Bahía Grande" which stretched far out to sea under a distant point of land or an island. That point was the three miles broad, precipitous face of the headland of La Punta de los Reyes, distant forty geographic miles and reaching 597 feet elevation. Farther to the west northwest were seen six or seven white Farallones; and then turning to the eastward of Point Reyes were seen "barrancas blancas," white cliffs, that appeared at the mouth of an estero. When the haze which partly obscured the Head and vicinity had cleared away Costansó was able to establish the fact that Point Reyes Head was not an island, as had been conjectered by some of the party.

The party then made the sharp, rugged descent to the laguna that receives the waters of the small stream called on late charts San Pedro Creek. This lagoon is behind San Pedro Cove, which

* Map of San Francisco Peninsula, No. 3055, 1869, by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. It is a fine exhibition of the region.

is formed by the recession of the low shore on the north side of Point San Pedro. Camp was fixed on the side of the lagoon, where they found wood and water, and good pasturage for their animals; and near by a rancheria of Indians. They noted that the lagoon did not discharge its waters directly into the sea; a condition that still holds good. They were nearly sixty miles north of Point Pinos and had seen no sign of the Port of Monterey; and much discussion was had whether they should proceed or return, Governor Portolá decided to rest here a day and to send out a small party to make a short exploration.

The marginal memorandum of the narrative at the statement, "Bajamos al Puerto, y sentamos el Real á poca distancia de la 'Plaia,'" * * * notes "De S. Diego 189 leguas." "A la Bahía "o Puerto de Sn. Franco. 1 legua."

Henceforth in the narrative, it must be borne in mind that this port refers to all the water area from Point Reyes southward to Point San Pedro. There has long been a doubt of the exact location of the point and camp of the 31st. Costansó says that on the first of November he observed, and he gives the bearings, upon the Farallones, Point Reyes, and the white cliffs to the eastward thereof from a position on the south side of the Bay (*desde la Costa ó Plaia interior de la banda del Sur de lo Bahía*). He means the Puerto de San Francisco as he had before and afterwards called the present Gulf of the Farallones. Father Crespi says: "desde esta playa se van demarcando los farallones * * * "y la punta que ~~creo~~ es la de Reyes, que es la que forma y cierra "la bahía por la banda del Norte al Oeste cuarta al Nordoeste," Vol. II, page 199.

At any place near the sea level in San Pedro Cove the observers could not have seen the objects mentioned because they were below their horizon; and therefore they must have ascended at least two or three hundred feet, whence the tops of the Southeast Farallon, the highest part of Point Reyes, and the upper part of Ballenas cliffs could be seen above the horizon.*

* They saw the several peaks of the Southeast Farallon and the rocky islets close to it. The highest peak is 340 feet above the sea, and is visible on the horizon at twenty-three nautical miles. The Northwest Farallones lie six miles farther to the northwest and are much lower.

In the second reconnaissance of the coast from Nootka Sound to the Strait of Fuca, in the year 1790, the sloop "Princesa Real," commanded by Ensign Don Manuel Quimper, sailed for Monterey, and on the 31st of August, he saw

The land inside or northeastward of Point Reyes Head for three or four miles is but a little over one-half the height of the Head, and without any bold or marked features visible in that direction; therefore it was not much above Costansó's horizon when he was on the highest crossing of Point San Pedro, and it is easily hidden by haze, smoke or fog.

By estimation of the courses and distances traveled, Costansó assumed they were in latitude $37^{\circ} 33'$ or $37^{\circ} 35'$; the true latitude is $37^{\circ} 35'$.*

Upon consulting the Coast Pilot of Don Joseph Gonzales Cabrera Bueno of 1734, they decided they were looking at the old Puerto de San Francisco of the Spanish galleons, the Portus Novæ Albionis ascribed to Drake, but they could not understand how Cabrera could place it in latitude $38^{\circ} 30'$; however, as they had found others of his latitudes erroneous by a degree, they concluded he was in error in this case. The true latitude is $37^{\circ} 59' 35''$; Drake by one narrator made it $38^{\circ} 30'$, but more conclusively by others $38^{\circ} 00'$.

One of the bearings to the white cliffs near an estero where no estero existed, seemed to be erroneous; but we have fixed his "barrancas blancas" as the southern face of the whitish cliffs of Ballenas (or Bolinas) Point that forms the western shore of Ballenas Bay. Costansó was twenty nautical miles from the cliffs that are one hundred and seventy-five feet high, and could not see the inside lagoon; but he was looking almost directly through the deep, narrow valley that runs straight from Ballenas Bay to Tomales Bay for fourteen miles, with the mountains over one thousand feet high on either side. The Cuchilla Grande on the west is 1,409 feet, and the flankers of Tamalpais over 2,000 feet. Therefore he imagined that he saw the mouth of an estero that appeared to run inland on the east side of the white cliffs. [Si descubría la boca de un Estero, que parecía enternarse tierra adentro.]†

"los farallones de San Francisco llamados las llagas," at a distance of three leagues. In his log they are designated "los Farallones de San Francisco." [From manuscript account of the voyage.]

On the chart of the Sutil y Mexicana, published in 1802, which represents Vizcaino's work, they are designated "Los Frayles"; on later Spanish charts "Los Farallones de los Frayles."

* Father Crespi says that Costansó observed the latitude of $37^{\circ} 24'$, and that he himself observed it $37^{\circ} 49'$; page 200.

† A visitor to Point Lobos or Sutro Heights can see this valley beyond Ballenas, although it is partially overlapped.

With that point fixed and the Head of Point Reyes, distant thirty-four nautical miles, and the Farallones, distant twenty-four nautical miles, all plotted, we have determined the observation point of Costansó by the three-point problem; and, furthermore, it is shown that he had applied the magnetic variation erroneously to reduce his compass bearing to the true bearing.

Before closing our remarks upon this day's proceedings, we may mention that Father Crespi enters more fully into the description of the immediate country and its productions than Costansó; and in speaking of the hills he writes: "en las lomas ningun árbol y "solo se divisan en una sierra que circumbala esta bahía," page 198, October 31. That description is true today. The hills surrounding the camp are grass covered; and the high and apparently compact coast stretches hence to the head of Drakes Bay, save the depression beyond Ballenas Bay. The transverse break of the Golden Gate can not be seen even when one knows where to look for it.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1ST, 1769.*

Before we enter upon the special operations of this day, we call attention to the statement of Father Crespi which has led to some doubt and confusion of names in this immediate locality. On page 200, under this date, he writes: "Celebramos en este vallecito de la "Punta de las Almejas del Angel de la Guarda, diciendo ambos "misa, la que oyeron todos"; etc. When the party was at the camping place just north of Montara Point and barred by the precipitous Point San Pedro from following the immediate shore line, Father Crespi said he called the rinconada at the camp of the 30th "la Punta del Angel Custodio," but on account of the vast quantity of shellfish on the rocks, it was named by Portolá "Le Punta de las Almejas." Thus Father Crespi, on the 1st of November overlooked the earlier application of the names; or perhaps he thought this notable promontory better deserved the name of the Guardian Angel.

After all had heard mass Portolá ordered Sergeant Ortega and some soldiers to examine the country for a certain distance from

* It is not necessary to give all the details of the two diaries after October 31st because there is little of interest, geographically, until the return of the party to San Pedro Cove.

camp, and to return in three days; hoping they would obtain such information as would relieve the incredulous of all doubt and perplexity. No special course was laid down for them to reconnoiter. Costansó and Father Crespi observed for latitude, and took bearings on the Farallones and Point Reyes as before mentioned. On this day the sergeant and the soldiers saw the southeast part of the present San Francisco Bay, but they could not get back to report.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 2D.

This was All Saints Day, and after the celebration of the mass Father Crespi begged Governor Portolá to permit some of the soldiers to go into the hills to hunt, where they had seen herds of large deer [elk]. This was granted.

The maps of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey show that to the southeast, east and northeast of the camp at San Pedro Cove the hills rise rapidly; Mt. Montara reaches 1,940 feet at two miles from the sea, the hills two miles east from their camp rise to 1,300 feet, and others to the northnortheast to nearly one thousand feet. All the hills and ridges are grass covered and treeless, except Mt. Montara, which is largely covered with chaparral; and at that season of the year the grass was in luxuriant growth. The best map to study the region east and north of San Pedro Point hence to the Golden Gate is the sheet of the "Peninsula of San Francisco," by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, with twenty feet contours, and on a scale of one and six-tenths miles to one inch. It shows where trees grow. The sheet of the Entrance to San Francisco Bay on the same scale does not reach as far south as Point San Pedro.

At night the hunters returned, and reported they had seen at the northern part of this Puerto de San Francisco an immense arm of the sea or estro [un immenso brazo de Mar ó Estero], which ran as far inland as they could see, and looking toward the southeast. They also reported seeing some beautiful plains dotted with trees; and from the number of smoke signals observed they believed there were many rancherias of Indians.

The announcement of the immense arm in the northern part of this Gulf of the Farallones was accepted as proof of Cabrera's description of the old Port of San Francisco lying under Point

Reyes. Lest there be any doubt about the language we quote from his description as given in Father Paloú's "*Noticias*," Vol. II, pages 201-203, footnote.

Cabrera describes Point Arena accurately, but places it in $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ instead of $38^{\circ} 57'$, the true latitude. (See Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington; Davidson, 1889; pages 270 with views.) Then he continues:*

"In the latitude above mentioned [$39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$], there is a low flat-
"topped point with white cliffs exposed to the sea; and from here
"the coast trends to the southeast a quarter south as far as lati-
"tude $38\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, where the land forms a point apparently
"separated from the coast, and which appears from a great dis-
"tance to be an island. It is Punta de los Reyes, and has a flat-
"topped rock,† and in the space to the north of this there is good
"shelter [for vessels] from all winds; and this [anchorage] is in
"latitude thirty-eight and a half degrees, and is named San Fran-
"cisco. For winds from the south and southeast a ship must
"anchor at the [western] extremity of the playa that forms a
"rincon [interior angle] between the part [of the shore line]
"stretching to the southwest and that part [of the shore line]
"running to the northeast; and in the latter there are three white
"cliffs [140 to 220 feet high] very close to the sea, and in front
"of that in the middle there enters an estero from the sea that has
"a good entrance without any breakers [the Limantour estero or

* "En esta altura susodicho, hace una punta baja de barrancas blancas taxadas á la nar; y aqui corre la costa al Sueste cuarta al Sur hasta llegar á 38 grados y medio, donde hace la tierra una punta mediana dividida de la costa, que parece desde lejos isla, y se llama punta de los Reyes, la cual haze un morro taxado, y de la parte del Norte de ella hace buen abrigo para todos vientos, yestá en altura de 38 grados y medio, que llaman de San Francisco; para viento Sur y Suste, se ha de surgir en el remate de la playa que hace un rincon de la parte del Sudueste, y de la parte del Noreste, estan tres barrancas blancas muy cerca de la mar, y en frente de la de en medio, entra un estero de la mar que tiene buena entrada, sin rebentazon alguna; entrado en ella hallarán indios amigos, y con la facilidad se hará agua dulce; al Sursudueste de este puerto están seis, ó siete farallones blancos, pequeños, unos mas que otros, ocuparán de circuyto, poco mas de una legua."

"*Noticias de la Nueva California*" escritas por el Rev. Padre Fr. Francisco Paloú. Tomo II. (California Historical Society's Publications) San Francisco, 1874; pages 201-203, in note by John T. Doyle, LL.D., from the Coast Pilot of "D. Joseph Gonzales Cabrera Bueno"; Fol. Manila, 1734.

† Chimney Rock, fifty or sixty feet high, lying east of the extremity of the eastern promontory of the Head. This location is a very important omission that has caused some old Spanish charts to place the anchorage to the north side of the western promontory.

"Drakes estero]. Inside of this estero friendly Indians are found; "and fresh water can be easily gotten. To the southsouthwest of "this puerto there are six or seven small white farallones, but some "larger than others; and they occupy a space within the circumference of a little more than one league."

After mentioning the loss of the *San Augustin* here in 1595 he gives the direction and length of the coast hence to Point Año Nuevo in $37\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; the true latitude is $37^{\circ} 06\frac{1}{3}'$. He does not state whether there is deep water between the Farallones and the coast; but we know that as late as 1775 the Spanish vessels then employed on the coast avoided the Gulf of the Farallones for fear of hidden dangers.

We have quoted the language of Cabrera Bueno in describing the Puerto de San Francisco because it is more satisfactory than the few lines quoted by Costansó. Cabrera Bueno obtained his information from the reports of Spanish galleons that had anchored in Drakes Bay as a harbor of refuge or when short of wood and water. It clearly describes the geographical features of Point Reyes Head and the hydrographical conditions of the anchorage of Drakes Bay; and cannot be applied to any other locality on this coast.* He found the Indians on the [west] shore of Limantour Lagoon, and good water, but he does not mention wood. Drake did not mention getting wood. There were no trees growing near the shores, and to obtain a supply it must have been brought from some distance inland by Indians, or some very small scrub must have been found in the dry arroyos.

We have been compelled to enter into this long explanation because upon the report of the hunters on the second of November Costansó became satisfied that the estero just east of the white cliffs, which the party had seen when on the heights of Point San Pedro, was that mentioned by Cabrera as one of the marks for recognizing the Port of San Francisco. We are satisfied that he did not see, and could not have seen the white cliffs at Drakes Bay at thirty-five miles, but that he could readily have made out the white cliffs of Ballenas at twenty-one miles. These misled him and all the party.

* We have shown the accuracy of Cabrera's description in "Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the Year 1579. * * * California Historical Society's Publications, San Francisco, 1890." Royal 8vo., 58 pp., 15 charts and views. We know it from personal examinations.

They imagined that there was an extension of the sea through the Valley Ballenas-Tomales to the great inland waters they had seen to the southeastward, and for some distance to the northeastward. This opinion will be found to have guided their attempts to reach the Port of San Francisco not only at this time, but in subsequent explorations. They believed that the three days allotted to the explorers would not be sufficient time for their going around the head of an estero of such extent.

These men could not have seen the Golden Gate; the high lands southward of the entrance absolutely prevented its being seen from their position.

If they were on the high hills two miles east or eastnortheast of the camp they were looking upon the waters of San Francisco Bay. They could have noted Point Reyes Head as well as the estero at Ballenas; and the Twin Peaks projected upon Point Diablo and the high lands adjacent on the north side of the Golden Gate.

Mount San Bruno, 1,315 feet high, lay squarely in front of them six miles to the northeastward, and prevented their seeing much of the Bay north and west of Oakland Point.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3D.

During the night the exploring party under Sergeant Ortega, which had started on the first, returned discharging their firearms, and confirmed the report of the hunters. They stated, furthermore, "from equivocal signs of the Indians," that at a distance of two days' journey from San Pedro Cove there was "a port and a ship therein."

These Indians, who had perhaps seen galleons make the coast, or had heard traditions of Drake's ship,* 1579, or of the wreck of the *San Augustin*, 1595, or of Vizcanio's visit in Drakes Bay in 1603, doubtless intended to inform the Spaniards that two days' travel to the northward from their camp was the entrance for boats and ships, such as they had seen, into this newly discovered estero.

* Up to 1880 the Nicasio Indians, north of Mt. Tamalpais, related their traditions about the Golden Hinde and her people. "History of Marin County, California, including its geography, geology, topography and climatology. * * * J. P. Munro-Fraser. San Francisco, 1880." Page 96.

See also "Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in 1579."

It is also evident that the explorers had not followed the beach to Point Lobos; in fact they could not for at least two miles, and thence they could have followed it for two more, when they would be compelled to reach into the hills that are nearly five hundred feet high, and whence they could see part of San Francisco Bay five or six miles to the eastward. One curious feature is not mentioned, whether they advanced far enough along the beach to see Lake Merced, only eight miles northward of the camp.

As neither the exploring nor the hunting party had a glimpse of the Golden Gate, but were two days' travel therefrom; and as to Costansó and to the Commander Portolá, and to all the party, the outer coast line seemed high, compact, and unbroken to the northward beyond their encampment, it was decided to cross the hills directly overlooking the bay and explore around the south and southeastern shore of this immense inland sea.

Today this decision appears to many people to have been unfortunate when one or at most two days of easy travel—only thirteen miles northward—would have brought them to the Golden Gate, and have given them a more wonderful discovery to call forth exuberant description; but they were guided by what they actually saw.

They had twice before been barred by mountain ranges and forced into the interior, by the Sierra Santa Monica and by the Sierra Santa Lucia. Now, in the clear atmosphere of November, stood up the Twin Peaks, 925 feet, and the bold transverse crest of Mt. Tamalpais (2,594 feet high), stretching its western flank as a great barrier to the very ocean near Ballenas Bay, and the Cuchilla Grande (1,409 feet) to the west of Ballenas.

We must believe they exercised their best judgment and that the palpable estero before their eyes was far more satisfactory than the questionable signs of the Indians.

One thing is certain, they had looked upon part of the future city of San Francisco.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4TH.

Costansó's diary for this day is very brief; that of Father Crespi is not long.

The expedition was gotten ready for a trip of exploration to the east and southeast. They were in better spirits and had feasted

plentifully on the mussels abounding on the nearby rocks, which the good father declares were large and very good. As it was the day of San Carlos Borromeo, and also the day of the King, Señor Don Carlos III., the fathers said mass, and the train was not ready to start until one o'clock. It traveled two leagues in three hours, according to Father Crespi. The Father takes occasion to affirm that without the least doubt the playa at this vallecito is that of the Puerto of his padre, San Francisco.

It is important to learn the route of the party, and this can only be done by careful study of the best maps, personal knowledge of the country, and the statements in the narratives.

Almost at the outstart the train was compelled to leave the beach, and in a very short distance commenced the ascent of the hills lying to the northeastward, which reach an elevation of thirteen hundred feet and are grass covered. As usually followed in this country, the traveler takes up a ridge whence he can have a good outlook as well as better traveling. Upon reaching the crest-line of the hills that trend southeast and northwest, they descended and entered the cañada of San Andrés, the head of which is five hundred and twenty feet above the sea. Then they traveled south-southeast through this narrow cañada between high hills that were wooded (see Coast Survey map) for about one mile, and halted at sunset. Costansó says they made two leagues; and this would bring them to the small unnamed lagoon shown on the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey map of the Peninsula of San Francisco (1869), exactly two miles west by south from Millbrae Station on the bay shore. The position of this lagunita is near the eastern angle of the San Pedro Rancho as laid down on Professor J. D. Whitney's map, where he has a house located but no water other than the stream.*

Neither Costansó nor Father Crespi mentions any fresh water. The Father says they encamped at the foot of the mountain covered with low wood, very green; and there was a semicircle of oaks skirting the mountain on the west. Naturally they would select a camp where water was to be had; and so we find that on the return

* "Map of the Region adjacent to the Bay of San Francisco. Scale two miles to one inch. * * * 1873." From U. S. Surveyor General, U. S. Coast Survey, and the Surveys of the U. S. Geological Survey. * * * J. D. Whitney, State Geologist.

See also map of the U. S. Geological Survey, edition of 1902.

trip the party encamped at this place beside "una Lagunilla" [November 12th].

The camping ground is now covered by the waters of the reservoir of San Andrés Lake.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5TH.

The expedition was now in the "Cañada de Raymundo" of the earlier maps, Costansó's "Cañada de San Francisco," and it may be well to give a brief description of it. It lies on the eastern flank of the main range of mountains running northwest and southeast through the Peninsula of San Francisco. The northwest projection reaches the sea five and a third miles north of Point San Pedro; and the southeast projection at Los Trancos Creek, west-southwest from Mayfield, a total length of twenty-four miles.

It is a very narrow valley, recognized as a line of faulting by geologists, and is fifteen miles long between the northwest and the southeast divides. In the part traversed by the Portolá party the breadth is less than a quarter of a mile wide, and the hills on the west rise sharply to eleven hundred feet above the sea, and on the east side they rise to six or seven hundred feet, with slopes not so steep. The lowest point in the cañada is where the San Mateo Creek breaks through the eastern ridge on its way to the bay; and is about one hundred and eighty feet above the waters of the bay. In the later "fifties" we found little more than a trail through the chaparral and willows of this cañada; and traveling was slow. We entered from the north. In later years a road was made through the San Mateo Cañon. Today all the old landmarks are obliterated by the two reservoirs, San Andrés Lake north and Crystal Springs south, which have a total length of eight and a half miles.

On Sunday, the 5th, after the celebration of the mass, the party began the march at nine o'clock with very cloudy weather. Costansó's notes are very brief. Father Crespi's moderately full. They marched three and a half leagues in four and a half hours in a general direction to the south-southeast, parallel with the bay shore which they could not see on account of the "lomaria" to the east. On their right hand the sierra was beautiful with many areas of oaks, redwood, and smaller trees, interspersed with areas of pasture. They stopped at a small stream and lagoon which formed

an arroyo of good water and broad pasture land. There were plenty of wild geese, and they observed the tracks of large wild animals, as the bear and bulls [elks].* Many herds of deer were seen, some of the explorers declaring they had counted fifty manadas. In these last days they saw many madroños [the strawberry tree, *Arbutus unedo*], but the fruit was much smaller than that of Spain although of the same kind.

The Indians from adjacent rancherias invited the people to visit them, and there was trading of glass beads for black tamales and a fruit like a cherry (the *Cerasus ilicifolia*, over half an inch in diameter, with a large kernal).

This encampment was at the "Laguna Grande" of Whitney's map (1873) about two miles south of the western entrance to San Mateo Cañon. It received and discharged the waters of the south branch of San Mateo Creek, and is now covered by the waters of the Crystal Springs Lake or reservoir. The distance traveled was three and a half leagues; on the United States geological map it is nine statute miles in a straight line. It may be asked why Portolá did not follow the north fork of the San Mateo Creek through the cañon, because it was evident it must reach the Bay. A very short reconnaissance must have satisfied him that the crooked rough bed of the stream lying between high and rocky banks with many over-hanging trees, was not a practical route for his weary animals and his large body of sick people. And in this case he would seek the directions of the Indians from the neighboring rancherias.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6TH.

It has been customary to assume that the party continued its course to the southward of Laguna Grande over the high land five hundred feet above the sea at five or six miles from their encampment of the 5th. This high land, about a mile in extent

* On the 25th of November, when the main party camped for a day's rest one league beyond the Pájaro River, on the bank of a lagoon called "del Macho," some of the party made an exploration of the coast and reported "that the tracks they had seen on the journey to the Port of San Francisco, as those of bulls, were really made by very large deer; that they had seen a herd of twenty-two of these animals near the seashore; that their heads were armed with very high and heavy branching horns; the breast and throat were white, and the rest of the body a clear chestnut color except the hind quarters which were also white." This is a fair description of the Pacific Coast elk.

northwest and southeast, divides the waters flowing northwest from those flowing southeast; then down the southern waters three miles farther to a point near Searsville; and from this place turn eastwardly and down the San Francisquito Creek to the Estero or Bay of San Francisco. On this route the party would have passed the notable "Twin Redwoods" at the railroad crossing between Menlo Park and Palo Alto. There is now but one of these trees standing and it is the smaller one, with a height of about one hundred and thirty feet.

The length of this route is eighteen statute miles to the bay, and it must be rejected.

The narratives are fairly explanatory and their line of travel may be satisfactorily traced to the Bay.

The party started at nine o'clock, after much solicitation from the Indians to visit their rancherias; and after ineffectual attempts to learn something of the bay by signs. The Indians gave them a good supply of pinole, black tamales, and acorn mush, which was very welcome because the party was reduced to five tortillas a day.

The day's march was through a beautiful country; the hills to the west were covered with redwood, live oak, and other oaks loaded with acorns. Costansó says they traveled three leagues on the same course through the valley; but the marginal record of distances gives the three leagues as the total of the day's journey. Father Crespi makes the distance three leagues to the end of the day. They reached the end of the cañada and the termination of the hill range that lay on their left, while the mountains on their right turned to the eastward and appeared to encircle the estero in a spacious valley. To this range which had been on their right hand on this journey, and which continued to the southeast, Father Crespi gave the name "San Francisco."

We quote from both narratives to establish the point where they turned to the eastward to reach the bay, which they then probably saw. Costansó writes: "We walked a short distance [un corto "tramo] on our course, and stopped on the bank of a deep arroyo, "the water of which came from the sierra and ran precipitately "to rest at the Estero." Father Crespi writes: "We traveled a "little farther [un poco mas] on the same course and in a brief "time we stopped on the bank of an arroyo whose waters fall from "the sierra and run precipitately to the before mentioned estero."

If Costansó walked eastwardly from this col between the northwest and southeast valleys, about half a mile to a grass covered hill about four hundred feet higher, he would have had not only a clear and unobstructed view of the southeast part of the bay, and the oaks dotting the plains, but he would have seen close beneath him two or three small arroyos through which run the little tributaries that form the Redwood Creek of the Coast Survey map. He could have made his choice and suggested the best route to the beach, or edge of the fast land. The distance traveled on this route must have been a little over nine statute miles; and the encampment may be confidently placed near the present county town of Redwood. This distance agrees well with their record; and is one-half that by the assumed Searsville route.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7TH.

From this camp Comandante Portolá decided to send an exploring party to make a reconnaissance around the south and southeast part of this estero; and to learn, if possible, about the ship reported to be therein. For their help two Indians acted as guides. The soldiers were allotted rations sufficient to assuage their hunger.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8TH.

Nothing was done today. Father Crespi observed for latitude and derived $37^{\circ} 46'$, which is so far erroneous that it would place him in the city of San Francisco one-half mile south of the City Hall. The camp at Redwood Creek was in latitude $37^{\circ} 29'$. Crespi's error of latitude was $15\frac{1}{2}'$ too great at Año Nuevo, and $14'$ at Point San Pedro. Costansó gives no latitude.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9TH.

For want of meat and other food the people in camp ate heartily of acorns which were ripe, but they suffered severely therefrom.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10TH.

The reconnoitering party returned sad and disappointed. The Indians had burned all the grass* and the plains to the northeast and north were impassable; moreover the Indians were in very bad humor and were opposed to their passing. They learned nothing about the ship, and saw no signs whatever of the proximity

* It seems strange that the growing grass of the wet season was burned.

of the port. They reported to have seen another estero of equal extent to the northeast,* penetrating far into the land, and that it would be necessary to travel many leagues to go around the head of it. They reported the mountains very rough and of bad character.

It has been supposed the reconnoitering party actually reached as far north as Point San Pablo, in latitude $37^{\circ} 58'$, at the southeast side of the entrance to San Pablo Bay. This cannot have been possible.

Let us look at the time occupied in the march forward and backward, over plains reported impassable for want of pasturage; and the distances of known objects around the bay; and remember the half famished condition of the men and the Indians in bad humor.

From Redwood Creek the distance to the San Francisquito Creek is four miles; to the San Antonio Creek, seven and a half miles; to the mouth of the Guadalupe, fifteen and a half miles; to the Coyote and Aguage Creeks, eighteen miles; to the mouth of the Alameda Creek at Alvarado, thirty-two miles. We believe they got no farther, if so far, but suppose they reached the San Lorenzo Creek, seven miles farther, that would give thirty-nine miles on straight lines. And to return there would be a total of seventy-eight statute miles or twenty-two leagues to be accomplished by hungry men and animals, no pasturage and hostile Indians, in four days. The train had never made such a march, and did not equal it on the return over a route they knew and were anxious to accomplish quickly.

Had it been possible for the party to have reached as far north as Berkeley they would have seen the Golden Gate, and returned with so wonderful a tale that Portolá would certainly have followed the coast thirteen miles northward from his camp at Point San Pedro.

We therefore place no reliance whatever of their seeing another estero of equal extent penetrating to the northeast, if that is really what they meant. But we need not speculate upon the matter, because in the Rivera exploration (1774) of the west shores of the bay and as far as Point Lobos at the entrance to the Golden Gate

* Costansó: Y que se ofrecia otro Estero immenso hacia el Nordeste, que se internaba tambien much en la tierra. * * *

Father Crespi: Dijeron asimismo haber visto otro estero de igual magnitud y estension que el que tenemos á la vista con el cual se comunicala. * * *

the question of distance traveled by Sergeant Ortega seems answered. In the report of that expedition it is said that on Monday, the 28th of November, the party reached Guadalupe Creek, which was the farthest point that was reached by the expedition of 1769.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 11TH.

Costansó opens his account of the day with the statement: "Return to the Port of San Francisco in search [en demand a] 'of the Port of Monterey and the Sierra of Santa Lucia.'"

It will be remembered that when the party was marching up the coast it was forced to the interior at the cañon of San Carpóforo and did not examine the shore line between that and Carmel Bay, a distance of sixty geographical miles following the coast; but impassable except a few miles southward of Carmel Bay.

The narrator says that in view of the report of the explorers Governor Portolá called a council of officers to determine what was the best course to pursue in view of their duty to God, to the King and to themselves. The officers met and gave their opinions by ballot, which was unanimous, that they should return to search for the Port of Monterey, which was believed to have been left behind, in view of the land signs which had been recognized in the Port of San Francisco [and others might be found about Point Pinos]. The two missionaries attended the council and were asked for their opinions. Father Crespi said that as the council had lost the help of God he would make supplication for aid by the sacrifice of the mass. After this the vote was taken and was found to be unanimous, although Comandante Portolá advocated going forward.

The party started on the return trip from the camp on the estero at Redwood, and moved two leagues on their march toward the Port of San Francisco, at Point San Pedro. They stopped in the Cañada de Raymundo near the south end.

One physical phenomenon at that part of San Francisco Bay was apparently unnoticed by Portolá, Costansó, and Ortega, who acted as scout around the head of the bay. The range of the tide at Redwood and Ravenswood at the time of the year when the party was there was between seven and eight feet. Had they noticed this they would have known there was direct communication with the ocean.

While they rested here there was some talk of founding a Mission in this vicinity, and sending word back to the proper authorities.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12TH.

After mass by the two missionaries the party marched north-northwest four and a half leagues and camped at "una Lagunilla" in the Cañada San Francisco, as Father Crespi now calls it. He says they traveled to the northnorthwest and north; but there is no part of the cañada lying north and south. Their camping ground was at the place where they had camped on the first day out from San Pedro Cove, without their mentioning any water.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13TH.

Both narrators confine themselves to a few words. Father Crespi writes they traveled two leagues along the same road by which they had come, and stopped at the playa of the Port of San Francisco. They were then at San Pedro Cove.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 14TH.

Costansó writes: We traveled one league and stopped in the Rincon de las Almejas, of October 30th, and so named on account of the abundance of shellfish on the rocks there. Father Crespi says it is one league distant from la punta del Angel Custodio, evidently forgetting this name had been applied to La Punta de las Almejas. Señor Costansó observed the latitude of the Sun's lower limb with an English octant from a bluff forty feet above the sea: the resulting latitude was $37^{\circ} 31'$, and when this was transferred to the playa at San Pedro Cove the latitude of that camp was $37^{\circ} 35'$. The creek at the encampment is now known as Martini's.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH.

This day was given to rest, and to allow the people to have a feast of mussels and aulones.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 16TH.

The party left this camp and traveled to the former camp, el Llano de los Ansares, Pilarcitos Creek. Costansó again makes the distance a little more than one league. The Father makes it one and

and half leagues. His former estimate was two leagues. This is the arroyo de San Simon and San Judas of Father Crespi.

From the day they saw the Port of San Francisco the weather had been continually clear, but today the sky was covered with heavy clouds in the east, with a wind from the south; and they were afraid of rain.

The wild geese were so numerous that the soldiers shot twenty-two, and Costansó and Father Crespi considered this a mark of Divine Providence in giving succor to the company.

We shall not follow their daily marches hence to Point Pinos.

On Monday, the 27th of November, the party continued their course toward Monterey, and camped in sight of Point Pinos. The watering place was at a small lake, with somewhat muddy water, but firewood and pasturage were abundant. Here they lost the wild geese of the plains that had largely supplied them with fresh meat.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 28TH.

The party moved camp, keeping the playa on their right hand; they entered a very extensive grove just before they climbed "la loma de pinos," which rises quickly; and stopped on the other side thereof whence they found "una nueva enseñada mediana" with shelter from the north and northwest because the Point of Pines stretches out to the west-northwest and serves to protect it from those winds.

On the south side of this enseñada there is another point that defends it from the south and southwest winds; but they could not ascertain whether there was good anchorage in the bay for want of a boat or canoe to take soundings. There were many rocks along and off the shore, and no beach except at the southeast part of the bay, where an estero of salt water receives from a small river a copious supply of fresh water from a low cañada of the sierra which we see on the same bearing. They passed the estero and camped at the edge of the playa* not far from an arroyo of very good water, in an area with an abundance of pasturage and firewood.

This newly discovered bay is the Carmel Bay of our maps and charts; the estero of salt water receiving a large fresh water supply

* Costansó writes: "Campamos sobre la lengua del agua á la parte del sur de la Enseñada"; this is shown on the Coast Survey chart mentioned.

is the Carmel River, and they must have reached it at high water, or when the mouth was closed; and the second stream is the San José Creek. It would seem that they crossed the Carmel River at or near the old ford nearly one mile from its mouth. Their camping ground would therefore be between the two streams named, on the tongue or point of the mesa; and to obtain wood and water they would rest on the inner edge of this mesa near the mouth of the Carmel, at about forty feet above water, whence they could keep a lookout for the expected *San Carlos*.

Costansó's diary states that they traveled one and a half leagues this day; and that they had been guided by friendly Indians. The distance around Point Pinos and Point Cypress to the Carmel River would have been about four and a half leagues and they would have had a moderately difficult road; sand dunes and no trees until they reached Point Cypress. The trail they traveled is almost the road of the present day between Monterey and Carmel, on the east side of the hill of Pines. For a study of the locality we have consulted the Charts Nos. 615 and 5476 of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and add our experience at Point Pinos in 1851 and later years, and a recent visit to Carmel Bay. Costansó calls the bay la Enseñada de Pinos.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29TH.

The Comandante had determined to search the coast hence to the southward, if it were passable, as far as the Cañon of San Carpóforo, sixty geographic miles distant; but he gave one day's rest to the people, and especially to the animals that were very tired. He complained that there were no mussels on the shore, therefore he must have encamped where no rocky shore gave mussels holding ground. And Costansó says there were no fish except to the pelicans and gulls which the party did not spare. The party was certainly without any fishing tackle or seines.

For two days a cold "norther" blew very fiercely and he had noticed that this wind usually lasted about one day.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30TH.

The Comandante decided that the explorers should skirt the base of the Sierra Santa Lucia with the determination that all should

follow the same road if the reports were favorable for finding the Port of Monterey, as he hoped they would be.

On this day the engineer observed with the English octant for latitude and the result was $36^{\circ} 36'$, "near the parallel of the Plaza y Bahía de Cadiz." The exact latitude of the camp was $36^{\circ} 32'$, according to the Coast Survey charts.

Ten or twelve Indians, who reported that they belonged to a rancheria up the cañada of this river, brought a good ration of pinoles and seeds, for which the Señor Comandante gave them glass beads.

Father Crespi notes that the "northers" blow for about forty-eight hours.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1ST.

The Comandante sent out the reconnoitering party of ten volunteer soldiers (Europeans) under the charge of the Captain of the Presidio, Don Fernando de Rivera, and six Indian pioneers who undertook to guide them along the coast trail. The party was furnished with sufficient bread for some days, and although a mule was killed for meat it was only eaten by the European soldiers and the friendly Indians. The narrator mentions that three days before they reached this camp two mulatto muleteers had been allowed to go off hunting, and as they had not returned it was feared they might have been killed. We shall refer to one of them later.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4TH.

The exploring party returned at night tired out on account of the roughness of the trail which they followed at the foot of the Sierra Santa Lucia. They reported that in their examination they were convinced of the non-existence of the Port of Monterey to the south by the landmarks mentioned in the Coast Pilot [Derrotero] of Cabrera Bueno, which are, first, a high, isolated [mogote] white rock somewhat close to the shore, and that the coast can be seen many leagues farther; and second, un Morro, a round-topped rock of the figure of a trumpet which appears as a farallon, and is distant about six leagues from Point Pinos. Two of the Indians who accompanied them did not return.

Personal acquaintance with this line of coast must be added to the capital charts of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, to enable one to understand the difficulties these first land explorers encountered. We traveled a short distance down the coast a few years since, and in the early days we coasted it within a mile several times. It is practically impassable.

The trumpet-shaped Morro is "The Sur," well known to our coasting captains. It lies thirteen and a half geographic miles from Point Carmel, rises to a height of three hundred and fifty-eight feet, and stretches out one mile from the general direction of the mainland, but connected therewith by a large area of low sand dunes. Vancouver, in 1793, used almost the same language as Rivera: "a small, high, rocky lump of land lying nearly half a mile from the shore," but as seen from seaward he thought it was detached and formed an island. The trumpet shape is suggested when it is seen from the northward or southward.

The isolated white rock is probably the "Great White Rock" of the "Coast Pilot of California, Oregon and Washington," where it is described as a conical rock one hundred and thirty-four feet high, base fifteen yards, and lying two-thirds of a mile off shore near the north side of Cape Martin. It is in about $35^{\circ} 56'$ and probably may be seen from Pfeiffer Point, six and a half miles southeast of the Sur. This point is three hundred and eighty feet above the sea. We believe the party reached Pfeiffer Point; and thence to the southeast for more than twenty miles they could see nothing but the mountains, almost overhanging the ocean. The United States' topographers found it impracticable to reach the shore line directly. Cone Peak, one of "The Twin Peaks" of the navigators, rises to 5,000 feet at a distance of two and three-quarters miles from the shore line. On the whole of the northwest coast of America there is no such compact line of high mountains close to the sea.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 5TH.

Costansó writes: "We know not what to think in view of what "we have experienced in the search for a port so famous as that "of Monterey, made so celebrated by men of character, skillful, "intelligent and practical navigators; who came expressly to

"survey these coasts by order of the Monarch then reigning over
"all Spanish countries.

"It is sufficient to say that it has not been found after supreme
"diligence and research at the cost of much labor and fatigue.
"Or is it reasonable to suppose that the port has been closed and
"destroyed by time, tide or weather?

"The accounts given by General Sebastian Vizcaino, and the
"contemporary narratives locate the Port of Monterey in latitude
"37°,* and we have not only found no sign thereof in that parallel,
"but no possibility of any port in that locality [the vicinity of
"Santa Cruz, latitude 36° 57'] because the coast is there bordered
"by very high mountains that come down to the sea as the navi-
"gators have seen [and along which we have traveled].

"It certainly would not be strange if the Port of Monterey were
"found at some point of greater or less latitude than that men-
"tioned in the old records, because we have discovered discrep-
"ancies and errors in [the geographic position of] almost all the
"places on the coast from the Island of Cerros to the Port of San
"Francisco, and which may be attributed to the imperfections of
"the instruments in use at that time by navigators in taking the
"altitude of the stars."

He then enters into a description of the Forestaff and its weak points, and continues:

"In view of all these considerations we affirm that the Port of
"Monterey does not exist in the latitude of 37° as indicated in the
"old Coast Pilots [derroteros], nor from the parallel of 37° to
"that of 37° 44', in which we judge Point Reyes to lie; we having
"succeeded in first finding the Port of San Francisco by signs not
"disagreeing a point (so far as we were able to judge) from those
"referred to by the Pilot Cabrera Bueno.

"And as that port of San Francisco, according to the state-
"ments of that pilot, and of others who have explored the coast,

* Vizcaino does not give any latitude in his narrative published by Father Miguel Venegas; nor is any latitude given on his charts as published by the authors of the *Sutil y Mexicana*. The latitude 37° is given in his letter of December 28, 1602, dated at the "Puerto demonte Rey." He noted the Sur; described the river emptying into Carmel Bay, and named it Rio del Carmelo. Two leagues farther north he found the famous Port of Monterey, and the forest of pine trees. Cabrera Bueno noted the Punta de los Pinos in latitude 37°.

"is situated to the north of Monterey, then what hopes remain of finding this port farther to windward?"

"Nor does this port exist from the parellel of 37° toward the south, either within or without the Sierra Santa Lucia; because we have examined the entire coast step by step, and it is not possible that it can have escaped our diligence and indagation."

Then the Comandante brought forward another argument to disprove the assertions of Vizcaíno in relation to the Indians.

"We have also to add that in our whole journey we have found no part of the country more thinly populated than that which is situated between the parallels above mentioned, especially that region situated in the neighborhood of the Sierra Santa Lucia, nor a people wilder [mas bronca] or more savage than the few natives thereof. Where then is the population of the country spoken of by the old narrators, and the docile character of the inhabitants?"

The foregoing views are almost repeated by Father Crespi; and when he reached the subject of the bad character of the few natives they met he called attention to the supremely good character of the people described by Sebastian Vizcaíno, although it would have been much easier to have transformed them to their present condition than to have transformed his famous Port of Monterey.* We shall show that they changed their judgments in 1770.

Costansó writes that "on the return of the explorers from the mountains our Comandante explained to his officers the condition in which we found ourselves; with no provisions except sixteen sacks [costales] of flour; without hope of finding the port or the vessel which ought to have succored us and thus have permitted us to remain in the country. He therefore called a council."

Father Crespi's diary adds a few items to this brief statement. The Junta was called by note; the two Fathers were invited to give their assistance, and all were cited to meet Wednesday, December 6th.

He continues: "They knew that the Comandante was inclined to divide the expedition into two parts: the one to go back to San Diego, the other to remain at this camping place, with the hope that the vessel might, upon her arrival more easily find and

* See reports of Vizcaíno: "Puerto demonte Rey a 23 dedisiembre de 1602"; and "de Mexico á 23 de Mayo de 1603." The first letter was written by himself and has his rubrica; the second by a scribe.

"recognize the coveted port. When I heard this idea I said, con "mucho gusto, that I would stay, and my companion, Fray "Francisco Gomez, responded in the same manner; we both offering "to endure whatever might arise in the search for the coveted "port." * * *

The Father begged the Comandante to be present with all the people at mass on the morrow, the day of San Nicolás Arzobispo de Mira, to beseech the Espiritu Santo to give them light to determine more fittingly the solution of the problem before them.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 6TH.

After mass, which sacrifice all attended, the Junta was assembled and discussed the matter, but a decision was postponed until the next day in order to give each and all more time for reflection.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7TH.

The Junta again met after attending mass. Some of the council advocated the policy of staying here until the provisions were entirely consumed, and then endeavor to return, relying on mule flesh for food during the journey to San Diego.

Father Crespi adds others seemed to think it better to divide the expedition, one part to remain here, the other to go forward. This is not mentioned by Costansó.

But difficulties were presented to both projects; and so, considering the whole subject carefully—the shortness of provisions, the excessive cold, and above all the snow which had begun to fall in the mountains*—the Comandante resolved to depart, declaring that if the pass through the mountains should be closed all the party would be lost.

During this afternoon a violent gale from the south raised a very heavy sea; and the party on land suffered much.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8TH.

Weather tempestuous, and the party could not leave.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9TH.

The storm still raged, but the weather cleared up at night, which was serene.

* On January 9th and 10th, 1880, when occupying the peak of Mt. Santa Lucia, 6,000 feet high, to observe the total solar eclipse of the 11th, we had a southeast storm that left three feet of snow on the mountain.

THE ERECTION OF THE HOLY CROSS AT CARMEL BAY
AND THE ERECTION OF A SECOND CROSS
AT MONTEREY BAY.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 10TH, 1769.

We quote from Costansó's narrative: "Antes de dexar esta 'Enseñada erigimos una Cruz sobre la Plaia con un letrero gravado 'en la propia madera que decía: Escarpa; al pie hallarás un 'Escrito. Este era el que insertamos aqui copiado al pie de la 'Letra.'" "Before we left this bay we erected a Cross upon the "plaia with an inscription cut in the solid wood that said: 'Dig; "at the foot you will find a letter. This is what we have placed "herein, copied to the end of the letter.' "

Father Crespi writes that it was "una santa cruz grande," and that after a good deal of labor they cut upon it these words: "*escarpa al pie y hallarás un escrito*," for the information of the mail boats that might arrive, and thus have information that the land expedition had started on its return to San Diego. He mentions the letter having been put in a small bottle [una limeta].

The letter is too long to give in this paper. It states the principal points of interest from the day of starting; the examination of the enseñadas north and south of Point Pinos without seeing any signs of the Port of Monterey; the discovery of Point Reyes, and the Port of San Francisco, and the Farallones; that the march to the Point Reyes could not be made on account of some immense esteros that entered the land to an extraordinary distance and that the expedition had returned to Point Pinos. Then follows a list of latitudes observed (by Costansó) at particular points of their journey, which latitudes are quite close to present determinations.

The letter closes with an appeal to the commanding officers of the mail boats *San José* and the *San Antonio* álias el *Príncipe*, should they reach the Enseñada de Pinos, to follow closely along the coast to the southward as far as San Diego, in order that if the land expedition should see either of the vessels it would announce the fact by firing muskets and waving flags; and receive provisions from them.

The good Father adds one or two sentences to the brief story of the Comandante.

"Ababado sea Dios." "The cross was fixed upon a slight hill "(una loma) at the edge of the playa of the enseñadita that lies "to the south of the Point of Pines, and at the foot was buried "the letter."

Under this same date, December 10th, Father Crespi makes a statement that explains the finding of a cross by the expedition of 1770. We translate his account from pages 223 and 224 of the "Noticias." Of course, it is written while the party is encamped near the Carmel River.

"In the other enseñada formed by the Point of Pines [on the "south] and the point [to the northward] which is judged to be "that of Año Nuevo [at the place] where we found the sand dunes "and a laguna [and had a sight of la Punta de Pinos, November "27th] they have placed another large cross, and on the arm they "cut with a clasp-knife these words: *Vuelviese la expedicion de tierra á San Diego por falta de viveres, hoy 9 de Diciembre de 1769*; so that if any packet boat should arrive at the other "enseñada grande, it would serve as a warning."

They did not start on the ninth of December, which was very stormy; the above date should be the 10th.

Of the march made on the 10th of December, after the erection of the first cross, Engineer Costansó writes: "We began our march "[from Carmel Bay] with clear and cold weather. We walked one "league and a half and encamped on the other side of Point Pinos, "traveling one and a half leagues."

Father Crespi writes: "Having concluded these duties we "started from this enseñada [Carmel Bay] the 10th of December, "1769, and walked one league and a half. We stopped on the "other side of Point Pinos." (Page 224.)

Neither narrator reports the spot where the party encamped; we suppose it was near the small lagoon [laguna pequeña] of November 27th, and of the early days of October when the Comandante and his officers were examining the shore from Monterey around Point Pinos toward Point Cypress.*

The cross in the bay on the north side of Point Pinos was placed there without the Reverend Father or his associate being present, and without the performance of any ceremonies; and furthermore that it was not placed at the encampment because in his letter of

* Paloá, Vol. II, pages 176-178.

June 11th, 1770, when he had come up with the second expedition, he says: "We were waiting to see this cross of the playa which "we had not seen, nor visited at that time, but which was known "only to those who had examined this locality." He and Comandante Portolá and Lieutenant Fagés were guided to it by a soldier who knew the particular spot.

The finding of this cross we present in its proper order of date.

WHY THE EXPEDITION BY SEA FAILED.

The foregoing is a condensed account of the operations of the land expedition of 1769, covering the time of the party reaching the vicinity of Point Pinos until they gave up the search at the same place; say from September the 26th to the 11th of December.

The people were all disappointed, disheartened and ill, and some had the scurvy; the animals were in bad condition although their loads were daily getting lighter. The provisions were insufficient, and except the flour would find no place in an outfit today. The medicines had given out, and they must have been of doubtful efficiency at the best. There was abundance of game, but the firearms of that period were little better than the bows and arrows of the Indians.* The rocky shores were loaded with mussels and aulones, which were occasionally collected; but no mention is made of anyone fishing.

Very fortunately the Indians proved to be a kind hearted race, and in numerous instances furnished the party with such food as they collected for themselves, pinoles, acorns, chia† and various other seeds; and frequently they brought "atole" or mush made from acorns, etc.

The party received much assistance by the friendly Indians accompanying them from camp to camp, and thus pointing out the trails and the best places for water, firewood and pasturage.

At that season of the year the rains assured them of good pasture, and the few hours' travel of each day allowed time for the animals to feed and rest. They learned that the rainy season of this coast was the opposite of that of the coast of Mexico.

There was universality of opinion of the non-existence of the much lauded famous port of Sebastian Vizcaíno, protected from all winds; and in the absence of such a port in the latitude of 37° assigned to it by Cabrera Bueno, and perhaps of older manuscript descriptions.

To the last moment Governor Portolá hoped for the arrival of the *San Carlos* that was to bring a cargo of provisions, and finally yielded to the exigencies of the case and ordered a return.

* The Indians between San Diego and Los Angeles also had the boomerang, of which we have two specimens; one for large game, one for small.

† The California Chia is *Salvia Columbariae*, an annual about a foot high with many seeds.

To show the difficulties of such expeditions, where concert of action was necessary, we may recall the movements of the vessels. The *San Carlos* lost most of her crew from scurvy. Portolá had ordered the *San Antonio* to leave San Diego July 9th, 1769, to inform the Visitador General of the sad state of affairs. She was twenty days in reaching San Blas, when the Visitador General immediately gave orders for the vessel to take on board a cargo of provisions and sail by the most direct route, via Cape San Lúcas, to Monterey in search of the land expedition. He also gave orders to the packet boat *San José* to take on board a cargo of provisions and a full crew for the *San Carlos*, and to stop at Cape San Lúcas, and take on board what provisions were there.

The *San Antonio* reached the cape before the *San José* and continued her voyage for Monterey. The *San José* arrived much later, loaded some cargo for San Diego, and sailed, but in a month she returned for water, and sailed again in May, 1770, one month after Portolá had started on his second expedition. Father Paloú says he believes she was afterwards wrecked.

The voyage of the *San Antonio* under Lieutenant Don Juan Perez was unsuccessful. Perez sailed from Cape San Lúcas on the 15th of February, 1769, for San Diego and Monterey. He stretched out to sea for a favorable wind, and when he reached the coast he was north of the western entrance to the Santa Barbara Channel, which he entered to obtain wood and water. He watered the vessel at one of the islands, and the missionaries visited a rancheria where they accidentally left a Pilgrim's Staff (bordon) with an iron cross attached. The next morning the Indians came to the vessel in a canoe and returned it to the missionaries, for which act the island was named Santa Cruz. The vessel continued her voyage, and coming to the latitude of $34^{\circ} 40'$, she stood to the southward in search of the Port of San Diego in $32^{\circ} 40'$, which she reached on the 11th of April.*

* "Noticias," Paloú, Vol. II, pages 15, 16.

LETTERS OF FATHER CRESPI AND OF SERGEANT ORTEGA: 1770.

We have refrained from interrupting the narratives of Engineer Costansó and Father Crespi, although certain letters exist that tend to explain some of the statements therein.

After earnest examination and two days of final deliberation the officers and fathers declared there was no Port of Monterey; they expressed doubts of the pines being large enough for masts; and somewhat traduced the character of the Indians.

We therefore feel warranted in introducing at this stage extracts from some letters before reciting the events of the successful expedition of 1770. These are Father Crespi's letters of January 24, 1770, to Father Paloú; Father Crespi's report to Father Paloú, February 6, 1770; Sergeant Oretga's report to Father Paloú, February 9, 1770; and the character of the Indians as understood by the officers and by Father Crespi.

FATHER CRESPI'S OPINION OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY: JANUARY, 1770.

Extract from a letter to Father Paloú, upon the return of the first land expedition to San Diego:

"Those who departed from this place, San Diego, on the day of "Señor San Buenaventura [Obispo] [July 14th, 1769,] for "Monterey have returned this 24th of January of the present year "[1770]; with the merit of having been compelled to eat the flesh "of male and female mules; and with not having found the Port "of Monterey, which we judged to have been filled up by the great "sand dunes which we found in the place where we had expected "to find it; and I now also have almost believed it."*

For his opinion of "this horrible Port of Monterey" after it was re-discovered see the letter of June 13th, 1770, elsewhere given."

* "Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Kray Junípero Serra." * * * Cap. XIX, p. 91.

REPORT OF FATHER CRESPI AFTER THE RETURN OF THE LAND EXPEDITION TO SAN DIEGO.

We have a manuscript narrative by Father Crespi addressed to Father Paloú, and dated February 6, 1770, thirteen days after the return of the first expedition to San Diego.

Some interesting statements are given of the journey along the shores of Santa Barbara Channel, some new names, and some confusion of names. He believed there were ten thousand people along that part of the coast.

We are satisfied from his description that the party left the immediate coast at the mouth of the San Carpóforo Creek, in latitude $35^{\circ} 46'$, and thence crossed the Santa Lucia Mountains under the guidance of the friendly Indians. The country was very difficult to travel with their loaded animals, and it is impossible to lay down their exact route. With a map of Monterey County before us, and our experience up the Salinas River and the San Antonio stream until we left it to ascend the controlling peak, Mt. Santa Lucia, 6,000 feet elevation, we make the following suggestion.

In a direct line from the coast to the head of the San Carpóforo the course is to the northnortheast for seven miles; across the first mountain ridge to the valley of the Nacimiento River, which flows to the southeast, five miles at the south end of the San Miguelito Rancho; north five miles to a depression in the second ridge; five miles northeastward across the next ridge into the valley of the San Antonio Creek, distant three miles south of the present site of the Mission San Antonio de Pádua (founded July 14th, 1771) and three miles west of the village of Jolón; thence up the Jolón Creek and across the main or eastern range of the mountains by the pass formerly used by the stage line from Monterey to Los Angeles, sixteen miles, and reaching the Salinas Valley four or five miles southward from the San Lorenzo, which enters the right bank of the Salinas River. This would be in about latitude $36^{\circ} 09'$. From this point the expedition would follow under the east flank of the sierra and within reach of the Salinas, until the sharp termination of the range, thence swing to the westward to reach the ocean near Monterey Harbor; in all a distance of about sixty-five miles. Of course all these distances are measured in short but direct stretches, and the traveled distance may well be estimated at one-third more.

As we have already mentioned, the expedition found here no signs of a port, and it was decided to travel farther to the northward. From Point Pinos they could see the western slope of the high mountains that govern the Peninsula of San Francisco.

The party continued northwestwardly until they reached the latitude of $37^{\circ} 49'$ by his observation and Costansó's, some minutes less. This was really at Point San Pedro in latitude $37^{\circ} 35\frac{1}{2}'$. He saw before them "a very great gulf or bay [una muy grande "Ensenada, ó Bahía], and at its entrance [boca] six or seven "farallones, just as Cabrera described them, and also Point Reyes "extending to a great distance into the sea, and which forms, as it "were, an island just as Cabrera explains all about the Port of "San Francisco. Furthermore he says this port has barrancas, "and that by the middle one an estero runs into the land. All "this we saw, and therefore we do not doubt that this port is that "of San Francisco. I took the observation before mentioned at "one side of this port [á un lado de este Pto.] three leagues this "side.

"We arrived at this port the night of All Saints Day and we "said mass on that day, and on All Souls Day. Notwithstanding "we explored for three days, and passed onward to see if we could "pass around this Estero. This Estero is not really such, but a "great arm of the sea [un grande brazo de mar], which extends "inland at least eight leagues; in its narrow part it is three leagues "wide, and in its widest stretch it will not fall short of four; in "one word it is an exceedingly large and most famous port [un "grandissimo y famosissimo Pto.], which could not only contain "all the navies of His Catholic Majesty, but those of all Europe "as well." Then he goes directly to the camp near the head of this Estero and perhaps near the town of Redwood. "We made our "camp before the end of this Estero about one league distant from "it in a plain of at least six leagues in extent, covered with oaks "and some evergreens. We camped near a good stream of water "which runs into the Estero. The land is all very good and of a "substance that could not be bettered. To place ourselves on this "side, from the side of the port where I took the observation [San "Pedro Cove] we traveled three days and eight leagues. Being "in this situation Señor Ortega went out with soldiers to explore "for four days, by order of the Governor, and in all those four

"days could not finish the circuit of this Estero to the other side,
"and there yet remained much more to go, from where he turned
"back, to have reached the end. On his return from this expedi-
"tion he informed us that at some four or five leagues from where
"we were the Estero ended [Redwood to head of bay, five and a
"half leagues] and that in the middle of the plain they found a
"large river [the Guadalupe] with its borders covered by different
"kinds of trees and which flows into the Estero [at Alviso], and
"they had much difficulty in fording it. That they marched
"forward from this river along the other side of the Estero some
"eight or ten leagues [near Alameda] and there yet remained
"much to go; and in these said eight leagues they met another very
"large stream [Alameda Creek at Alvorado, four and a quarter
"leagues from Alviso] with a very strong current, and with its
"banks also well wooded, and which had its course through another
"large plain which was also pretty well covered with trees. This
"very great Estero or arm of the sea has its communication [por
"entre unas altas Sierras que disen forma adentro tres Islas]
"between some high mountains, and which they say has three
"islands; which we could not see from where we were, being on
"low ground. And, they say, that this Estero is surrounded on all
"sides by high mountains throughout its entire extent, so that it
"is like a lake, protected against all winds. And considering that
"this most famous Estero has in its narrowest parts three leagues
"in width in its whole extent, it seems therefore its depth should
"be great, and that ships drawing much water could enter, and I
"doubt not that in time it can be sounded and surveyed. And the
"idea which we formed of this most famous [famossimo] and
"exceedingly great [grandissimo] Port of San Franciseo, is that
"there are two ports, both most famous and extremely large, one
"exterior where begin the six or seven farallones, as says Cabrera,
"and the other one better and protected against all winds, penetrat-
"ing into this said Estero or arm of the sea. And consequently if in
"time the ships do not discover the Bay of Monterey, which I
"totally doubt, as we have examined and searched for it with our
"eyes wide open, and with so much care, as our most earnest wish
"was centered in it, in default of it we have this most famous one
"of San Francisco, wherein to plant the standard of the Most
"Holy Cross, and to convert to Our Holy Catholic Faith, the very

"numerous docile and gentle heathen who occupy the borders of this "Estero."

("When I have spoken of the multitude of the heathen which we "have found everywhere and of their peacefulness I will speak in "particular of those of this Port of San Francisco.")

He then discourses upon the character of the country through which they had passed from San Diego to "this Port of San Francisco"; the number of streams and rivers, the needs of irrigation at the south, the exceedingly great numbers of peoples and their character of docility, kindness and assistance. He had already estimated the population of the Santa Barbara Channel at ten thousand in eighty or ninety villages; had counted as many as eighty-five canoes off one village; and at Goleta he estimated there were eight hundred natives. He recalls the fact of the earthquakes they felt on the Los Angeles plains [near the present site of Anaheim] and to this first river region they gave the "most sweet name of Jesus de los Temblores."

He then returns to his journey and says, that "on the 11th of November [1769] we left [the camp at Redwood] on our return to this Port of San Francisco [at San Pedro Cove] and we were seven days on the whole trip with very warm weather," etc. He says they were short of provisions, but through the kindness of Governor Portolá he and Father Gomez fared somewhat better than the soldiers. "We had, when we turned back from San Francisco, "some thirty and odd tercios of flour. We arrived at Punta de Pinos the 28th of November, to explore once more that Sierra of Santa Lucia, to see if the Port of Monterey had remained hidden under some rincon, but we never met with it. We were detained here eleven days at the said Punta de Pinos, until the 10th of December, when we left, continuing our return journey, with only twelve tercios of flour, and on the 20th of said month we had marched one league to get clear of the Sierra," via the Cañon of San Carpóforo, according to tradition.

Then he describes their further journey, praises Governor Portolá; and dates his letter from "this New Mission and Port of San Diego de Alcalá," February 6, 1770.

The opinion of Father Junípero Serra is given by Father Paloú in his "Noticias," Vida, page 101: "este hermoso puerto de Monterey," as quoted by Mr. Theodore H. Hittell in his history of California, Volume I, page 331 *n.*

SERGEANT ORTEGA'S ACCOUNT OF THE SEARCH FOR
THE PORT OF MONTEREY, IN WHICH HE
MAKES THE RECONNAISSANCE AROUND
THE SOUTHEAST HEAD OF SAN
FRANCISCO BAY.

From our manuscripts we are enabled to give a few items of interest from a letter written by Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega to the Very Reverend Father President Francisco Paloú, and dated at the camp of San Diego, February 9, 1770; three days after the date of Father Crespi's letter, and sixteen days after the return of the first expedition.

On the journey northward the party entered the Channel of Santa Barbara August the 9th [14th], and left Point Conception August the 27th. He speaks of the thousands of natives, their fishing and their light canoes three feet wide and from twenty-two to twenty-five feet long.

The expedition arrived at the foot of the Sierra Santa Lucia September 13th, in latitude $35^{\circ} 46'$; entered the Sierra on the 17th, and arrived at the north end on October 1st. Six days were spent in searching for the Port of Monterey; then they started along the coast and arrived at Point San Pedro [unnamed by them], on the 30th [31st], when they "had sight of a point taken to be that "of Reyes, and of some farallones.

"When examined from the Port of San Francisco the farallones "are seven in number, according to the view from that distance. "The expedition desired to reach the Punta de los Reyes, but some "esteros [esteros immenso]* which stretched inland for an extra- "ordinary distance and necessitated the making of an extremely "great detour [Sumamte. grande] and other difficulties, the prin- "ciple being the want of provisions, which was so great that some "days we feared to perish of hunger, and thus we were compelled "to retreat, believing that the Port of Monterey might probably "be found within the Sierra Santa Lucia, and fearing that it had "been passed without having been seen. The expedition finally "returned from a famous port [Puerto famoso] which I, with "eight soldiers who went out to explore, saw and I accurately "estimate that it extended inland more than eighteen leagues; and

* As spelled in the manuscript from the British Museum.

"that an arm of the sea entered, two, three or four leagues wide,
 "and within there was excellent shelter [abrijo grandissimo]
 "between two mountain ranges [Sierra y Sierra] so that it is, as
 "it were, a box closed with many keys, which prove to me that
 "my Master has no other equal to it, provided its depth is cor-
 "respondingly [great].

"Finally on the 11th of November, compelled by necessity, we
 "returned from this place by a point which makes out there; but
 "if we had had provisions I believe that we would have established
 "ourselves here, and would have informed our Superiors to that
 "effect, since there was here a Puerto and good lands, wood and
 "numberless heathen (although now more arrogant).

"We passed over this Point on the 19th, and the expedition
 "arrived once more at Point Pinos and the Enseñada the 27th of
 "the same month. From that day until the 9th of December, the
 "utmost diligence was used in seeking for the Port of Monterey,
 "within the Sierra, coasting along the sea, in spite of the rugged-
 "ness of the mountains, but in vain. At length, undeceived and
 "despairing of finding it, after so much diligent search, so much
 "toil and labor, without more provision than five or six half sacks
 "of flour, the expedition left on the 11th of December for this
 "Port of San Diego, and to our great satisfaction having fine
 "weather and provision of mule and goat flesh we arrived on the
 "24th of January at this Port of San Diego." He then gives a
 table of latitudes determined by "Ensign of Engineers Don Miguel
 Constanzo," which we compare with the best determinations.

<i>Costansó.</i>		<i>U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey.</i>
Camp at San Diego, -	32° 42'	The Playa, - - 32° 42'
The most easterly port of the heathen in Sta.		
Barbara Channel, -	34° 42'	Sta. Buenaventura, 34° 17'
Point Conception, -	34° 30'	Sta. Barbara, - - 34° 24'
Beginning of Sta. Lucia, -	35° 45'	Light House, - - 34° 27'
Ends at Point Pinos, -	36° 36'	San Carpóforo, - 35° 46'
Point Año Nuevo. -	37° 04'	Light House, - - 36° 38'
San Francisco, having the Farallones W. 1/4		Light House, - 37° 06 1/2'
N. W., - - -	37° 35'	Rock, Pt. San Pedro, 37° 35 1/2'
Estimated Pt. Reyes, -	37° 44'	Light House, - - 38° 00'

THE CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS AS UNDERSTOOD BY THE OFFICERS OF THE LAND EXPEDITION.

In his general report of October 24, 1770, at the city of Mexico, Migl. Costansó wrote that the Governor [Portolá] had determined to make another expedition to seek the Port of Monterey, "notwithstanding the few troops he had for undertaking the second time such a long march; but the knowledge that he possessed of the peaceful character of the Indians who inhabited the country, and the hospitable manner with which they had treated the Spaniards on their first entry into their conuntry, removed all feeling of distrust or uneasiness as to the treatment he might receive from the natives on his march."

And further on he records that "the natives of Monterey live in the mountains which are nearest to the seashore, distant therefrom about a league and a half. They sometimes visit the beach to go out fishing in their small rush rafts [Balzitas de Enea]; but it appears that fish do not constitute their principal food, since they only make use thereof when game is scarce, which is, however, generally abundant in the mountains, especially the deer and antelope that are very tame and easily taken. The Indians never visited the Spaniards without presenting them with some of the spoils of the chase; generally two or three deer or antelopes, and never asking for anything in return.

"The amiable disposition of these natives gives the Reverend Father Missionaries great hopes of the speedy conquest of the Christian Faith."

THE CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS BY SERGEANT ORTEGA.

"And writing yet more at length I have to say to your Reverence that all this frequented region is well peopled by tractable heathen, and in the channel [of Santa Barbara] they abound to the number of many thousands; these being most civilized. * * *

"They gave us many accounts of people like ourselves, some saying it would require seven days and others twelve and fourteen days to reach the place where they are.

"We saw some knives and other objects of iron which they had obtained from there; beads, some cloth and blue woollens."*

* Extract from letter of Sergeant Ortega to Father Paloú; San Diego, February 9, 1770.

This report of the Spaniards traveling in the country seven days' journey distant was given to Cabrillo and Ferrelo in 1542, and to Vizcaíno in 1602. In 1542 they even mentioned a great river where the Spaniard had been; evidently the Colorado.

CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS AS EXPRESSED BY FATHER CRESPI.*

"We thus take possession of this port [of Monterey] by the land and sea [forces] with the particular complacency of the innumerable Indian peoples that occupy all the country which we have "explored and reconnoitered in these two expeditions."

* "Noticias de la Nueva California." Vol. II, page 276.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF PORTOLA.
1770.

Notwithstanding the failure of the first expedition the Government of New Spain was determined to establish a Presidio and a Mission at Monterey, and early in the spring of 1770 the reorganized expeditions by sea and by land again moved northward under better auspices, and with the experience of the first attempt.

With indomitable energy Governor Portolá again led the land expedition. He selected Ensign Don Pedro Fagés and Father Crespi to accompany him. The party consisted of twelve soldiers of the Voluntarios Cataluña, seven soldiers with leather jackets and shields (*cuera*), five Christian Indians who had come from Lower California, and two muleteers, one of the latter being a deserter* who had left the pack train under the Sierra Santa Lucia and had reached San Diego a month after the main body. The party by sea was carried in the packet boat *San Antonio* [álidas el *Principe*], under command of Captain Don Juan Perez, with whom sailed the Engineer Costansó, the Surgeon Don Pedro Prat, and the Father President Juníper Serra. The vessel carried provisions for those to be left at Monterey.

The expedition by sea set sail on the 16th of April; and the land expedition on the 17th. The captain had one decided advantage for recognizing the coast in the approaches to Carmel and Monterey Bays, the latitude was about twenty-five minutes south of that given by Cabrera.

* This man and a companion had continued southward from the Sur or Pfeiffer Point to San Carpóforo, and suffered extremely, in the hope of finding the Port of Monterey, for which discovery they understood a reward had been offered.

THE SECOND LAND EXPEDITION REACHES MONTEREY
BAY: VISITS THE SECOND CROSS: ENCAMPED
AT CARMEL BAY.

"The expedition* followed the same road [as on the retreat last "year] and in thirty-eight days of traveling, of which two were "allowed for resting and the thirty-six for marching, they arrived "upon the day of the Ascension of the Lord, May 24th, at the "Enseñada Grande under Point Pinos with the shore toward the "northwest. They stopped about half a league before they reached "the true punta de Pinos, where there had been erected and fixed the "second cross (as already mentioned in the proper place), with the "inscription that the [first] expedition had returned to San "Diego for want of provisions; to which place the party in the "first journey had not gone except only the Señor Capitan "with his pioneer soldiers, the Engineer Dn. Miguel Constanzo, "who at this place had made his observation for the bearing of "Point Año Nuevo, noting well the point and all the playa, and "Sergeant Ortega with his soldiers that had fixed the Holy Cross; "all of these avowing when they returned to camp that they had "arrived at the true Point Pinos, that they had examined the playa "with much care and that they had come across no signal at the "port, for which reason they had not stopped at this place and "enseñada, but only at the second enseñada at the south side of "this Point of Pines [Carmel Bay].

"When the drove of animals was unloaded at the place which "the Comandante had directed for an encampment, he wished to go "and see la Santa Cruz, to notice if the vessel [*San Antonio*] had "placed any signal on the shore [to indicate her arrival], and "there accompanied him the Father Missionary Juan Crespi and "the ensign [Fagés] of Voluntarios Cataluña with a soldier of "the Cuera [leather jacket and shield] to guard them; that "[soldier] had gone with the sergeant when the cross was erected "[December 10th], and going toward it, after having made "reverence, the party approached and found around the Holy "Cross a ring of arrows (numbers of which were decked with

* "Noticias." Father Paloú, Vol. II, Page 261 et seq.

"feathers*) stuck in the ground. One had a string of sardines "which were not quite fresh, another had a piece of meat, and at "the foot of the cross a small pile of shell fish, the sight of which "touched our heart, thinking that in this way the natives gave some "worship to the sacred beam although they were devoid of the "light or knowledge of what it represented. * * *

"After this Portolá, Fagés, the Father and the soldier examined "the enseñada and the shores to see if there was any sign that "the vessel had been there, and as the day was very clear they "had a good view of the great enseñada which was formed by this "Point of Pines and that which extended much farther seaward, "and which all judged to be Point Año Nuevo. They noticed that "the water of this immense enseñada was calm and smooth, and "appeared as a great lagoon. In it were innumerable sea wolves "swimming and bellowing; and also two large whales that were "very near the playa and not more than fifty varas from land, "which was a sign that there was a good depth of water for "anchorage.

"Walking a short distance along the playa they reflected that "the enseñada was inclosed by the two points mentioned, and that "the enseñada appeared as a round lagoon shaped like the letter "O; and weighing these conditions they broke forth with one voice, "this is the Port of Monterey which we have sought; it is exactly "as reported by Sebastian Vizcaíno and Cabrera Bueno. Immediately the Father looked at the compass to observe what "direction the opening bore from them, and noted it northwest†; "and that to the northwest wind the opening was free and led to "this great enseñada; which they thought was doubtless the Port "of Monterey; but to further assure themselves they waited for "the vessel to arrive in order to remove any doubt which might "exist.

“The Comandante, bearing in mind that at the place of halting “in the first voyage they had found no good water, but only four

* Drake found the natives at Drakes Bay using feathers under somewhat similar conditions; so did some of the earlier Spanish navigators farther north. Feathers appear to have been a symbol of peace along the whole coast to the northwest.

† The measured distance and angle of Point Año Nuevo from Point Pinos or Cypress on the English edition of the Atlas of La Pérouse's voyages, etc., is twenty-three nautical miles and the bearing N. 37° W. This chart and these facts satisfy us that the high land northwest of Santa Cruz was esteemed the Point Año Nuevo; and not the present low point at thirty-four miles distant.

"lagoons in which the water was so bad and brackish that it could
"be used for drinking only in case of necessity, determined to
"change the camp to the other enseñada to the south of Point
"Pinos in an arroyo somewhat back from the Rio Carmelo where
"there was pasturage and water, and where he had fixed his camp
"last December when he directed the reconnaissance of th coast
"under the flank of the Sierra Santa Lucia, and where he had
"hoped for the arrival of the expected vessel.

[To this place he ordered the drove to go over the low hills,
"about one and a quarter leagues in a direct line from the playa
"of Monterey. The Comandante, Father Crespi and Ensign Fagés
"wished to go round Point Pinos to that camp. They found the
"point well covered with pine trees, many of them large enough
"for masts of a ship. They also came upon a grove of cypress at
"the point which is on the enseñada south of Point Pinos [Point
"Cypress]. They had walked four good leagues when they arrived
"at the place on the edge [orilla] of the arroyo before mentioned,
"near the cross that had been erected on the morning of the 10th
"of December, 1769, although we did not find around this one the
"exhibition we saw around the other.

"Here we await the arrival of *San Antonio* (*el Principe*)."

X

THE FINDING OF THE SECOND CROSS ERECTED ON
POINT PINOS BY THE FIRST EXPEDITION, AND THE
RECOGNITION OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY.

Extract from a letter from Father Juan Crespi to Very Reverend Father Guardian Fray Juan Andrés; dated at Monterey, June 11, 1770. The copy in the British Museum shows that it is properly attested.

It has the usual invocation, "Viva Jesus, Maria y Joseph."

This second expedition to find the famous Port of Monterey arrived from San Diego; the land party on May 24th after a journey of thirty-eight days; and the party by sea on the 31st after a voyage of forty-five days.

"On the same day that we arrived we alighted about half a "league before reaching Point Pinos and the playa which we had "passed on the first journey, because we wished to see a Cross that "they said had been placed there when we were on our return in "December last.

"We were waiting to see this Cross at the playa, which we had "not seen nor visited, at that time, but which was known only to "those who had examined this locality. So we went to seek it; the "Comandante Don Gaspar de Portolá, the Lieutenant Don Pedro "Fagés, and I, with a soldier who guided us because he knew the "particular spot where the Cross had been placed.

"Having reached the Cross we looked again and again to see if "we might find any signals of our vessel having arrived [before "us], because certain signals had been previously agreed upon by "the officers, but there was no sign whatever of the vessel having "arrived.

"We found the Cross wholly surrounded by arrows stuck in the "ground; some of which bore tufts of feathers. A stick with a "string of sardines yet half fresh, another stick with a piece of "meat hanging to it, and at the foot of the Cross a little heap of "mussels; all placed there by the heathen in token of peace.

"In the whole journey, wherever we encamped we found many "feathered twigs stuck in the ground and now when they [the "Indians] saw us they all came out unarmed, as if they had been "on friendly terms with us all their lives."

[He afterwards learned the true motive of this display.]

"Satisfied with looking at the Cross we returned to the playa
"and going down to it we began to admire the many thousands
"of sea wolves which appeared like a pavement; and at some
"hundred varas from the land were two whales close to each other.
"The sea looked like an oily plain of seaweed [un Aceite muy
"sasegado], or a very calm lake. At the same time we observed
"that it was a very large enseñada which began at Point Pinos,
"and stretched [northward] bordering the whole coast; the two
"points [Point Pinos and Point Año Nuevo] stretching out and
"forming a very large O. Contemplating the whole [prospect]
"we all six [seis] came to one conclusion at the same time that
"this the smaller and southern [part] is without doubt the Port
"of Monterey, which is, according to the narratives to the north-
"east of Point Pinos. Looking at the compass to see if it [the
"port] had the northnorthwest open which the narratives declare,
"I found it was open exactly to the northnorthwest. [Saque el
"abujon* aver si tenía el Nornorueste abierto que dize la Hista.
"y clavado el Nornorueste es el que le abre.]

"At this we were much delighted, and so the Cross had been
"placed at the true port, notwithstanding that those who had
"examined this locality telling us there was neither sign nor token
"of such a port; nevertheless we will not leave it until the ship
"shall arrive to see if she will verify what we have seen.

"On the 31st of May, in the afternoon, eight days after our
"arrival the vessel [*San Antonio*] was sighted near Point Pinos.
"Some of the soldiers went to make signals that we were already
"here. The ship saluted with its guns to show they had recognized
"us, and came up to the place where the Cross was, and came in
"as 'Pedro por su Casa,' by the same bearings and landmarks
"which the narratives give. They cast anchor the same night
"in six fathoms, and the Captain of the mail boat was in Monte-rey,
"and the soldiers told him that since our arrival we had already
"recognized it.† It is a most famous Port [famosissimo], accord-
"ing to what seamen say." * * *

* Abujon is not found in the Spanish Dictionary; it is a local spelling for agujon, a large needle. In Father Palou's "Noticias," Vol. II, page 264, he writes: "Luego sacó el padre el ahuhon."

† Captain Perez could not well do otherwise for he had on board Engineer Costansó who was familiar with Point Pinos, and had placed the cross on Point Almeja.

It will be noticed that the Father italicizes the authority for the designation of the port in the body of the letter as the opinion of the navigators, although he apparently accepts that authority in his last paragraph where he writes: “de este real Presidio y nueva “missn. de Sn. Carlos de este famoso Puerto de monte rey, y “Junio 11, de 1770.”

His personal judgment is more freely and forcibly expressed in his letter of June 13, 1770.

Father Crespi announced his second arrival at Monterey Bay to Father Junípero Serra in a letter dated at the “Mission de San “Carlos de Monterey y Junio dia de San Antonio de Padua “[June 13], 1770.” He writes: “The mail boat *San Antonio* “[alias *Principe*] commanded by Captain Don Juan Perez has “arrived, and cast anchor in this horrible Port of Monterey [y dió “fondo en este horroroso Puerto de Monterey], the same being “unchanged as substantially and circumstantially described by the “Expedition of Don Sebastian Vizcaíno in the year 1603.”* [December 16, 1602, to January 3, 1603.]

This letter is dated two days after the one he wrote to Father Andrés, and expresses his personal opinion; he doubtless recalled the heavy sea which prevailed in the roadstead on December 7th, 8th and 9th, 1769, as mentioned by Costansó.

* Extract from the Life of Father Junípero Serra by Father Paloú.

TAKING POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY ABOUT MONTEREY BAY: FOUNDING THE MISSION OF SAN CARLOS DE MONTEREY.

“On the 3rd of June, 1770, primer dia de la pascua de Espíritu “Santo, Señor Comandante Don Gaspar de Portolá, with his “officers, soldiers and people of the land expedition (Don Juan “Perez, Captain of the mail boat *San Antonio* [álidas el *Principe*] “with his second in command Don Miguel del Pino, and all the “crew and those that composed the expedition by sea), and the “Reverend Father Lector and President of all the Missions Fray “Junípero Serra with Father Juan Crespi, together with all those “on the playa of the Port of Monterey; having formed a shelter “of branches of trees in the same place and near the oak [formada “una enramada en el misnio sitio y cerca del encino], where, in “the year 1602 the reverend Carmelite Fathers who accompanied “the expedition of the Comandante Don Sebastian Vizcaíno had “celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass, and erected an altar “and suspended the bells and began the religious ceremonies with “vigorous peals.*

“Immediately the Father President, vested with alb and stole, “and all kneeling, implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost “(whose appearance over the small flock of the apostles and “disciples of the Lord was celebrated that day by the Universal “church), they chanted with the greatest possible solemnity the “hymn of the day, *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

“The Father blessed the water and with it a great cross that “had been prepared and which all assisted to raise, fix, and adore, “and then sprinkled with holy water all the fields and the playa “of the Port to drive away all infernal enemies.

“Immediately commenced the ceremonies of the first mass at an “altar upon which had been placed the holy image of the Virgin

* Extract from the English version of Venegas, corrected from the original:

“On the 16th of December [1602] the squadron put into this port, which “was named Monte-Rey, in honour of the Conde de Monte-Rey, Viceroy of “Spain; by whom they had been sent on this [voyage of] discovery, in the “name of his Majesty. The next day the General directed preparations to “be made in order that the Fathers Andrew de la Assumpcion and Antonio “de la Ascension, might say mass during their stay here.

“The church was erected under a grand oak close to the sea side; and “within twenty paces of it, in una Baranquilla, were some wells affording “plenty of excellent water.”

"Mary, that by the hand of the Señor Visitador General had been
"given for the first expedition to Monterey by the Illmo. Señor D.
"Francisco Lorenzana, at that time Archbishop of Mexico, and
"now of Toledo, Primate of all Spain.

"The Father President chanted the first mass; preached from
"the Gospel; and substituted or supplied the deficiency of musical
"instruments by repeated volleys from the guns of the *San*
"Antonio, and the muskets and other firearms of the soldiers.

"The mass was finished by chanting the salutation to the holy
"image of the Virgin Mary; and the religious services concluded
"with the *Te Deum Laudamus*.

"This first function having been concluded at the church the
"Señor Comandante Don Gaspar de Portolá, Governor of Nueva
"California, took possession of the country in the name of the
"King of Spain, Don Carlos III, with the usual formalities."*

Among these was an "authenticated document drawn up by the
"Comandante and certified by the other officers of the expedition,
"all declaring that this was the *Port of Monterey* with the
"identical landmarks described in the Ancient Reports of General
"Don Sebastián Vizcaíno."

Thus was founded the Presidio of Monterey, and the "Nueva
Mission de la Carlos de Monterey." Vancouver gives a full page
view of the "*Presidio of Monterey*." Volume II, page 440.

At the Vizcaíno oak the small shelter was improved to represent
the church which was consecrated on the 16th of June, the day of
la Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Some humble shelters were set
up for the missionaries and also for the officers and men of the
Presidio.

* Those interested in such ceremonies will find a full description in the account of the voyage of the "Princess Royal" to Nootka, the Strait of Fuca, and the Archipelagoes to the eastward, under command of Ensign Don Manuel Quimper. On the first of August, 1790, he took formal possession of the Bay of Nuñez Guona (our Nee-ah Bay,) and all the adjacent country, for the King of Spain, according to his rights granted by the Papal Bull of Donation, May 4, 1493.

THE MISSION OF SAN CARLOS DE MONTEREY CHANGED FROM THE PORT OF MONTEREY TO CARMEL BAY.

The Reverend Father President was informed that at the Port of Monterey there was no running water for the use of the Mission and for the irrigation necessary for the growing of crops;* that the site at Carmel Bay was judged to be the proper location because with the water of a lagoon and of the river the Mission could be well supplied and the lands brought under cultivation; and that the proposed site was distant a little more than a league from the Presidio; therefore they begged his good will to make the change.

Father Serra condescendingly approved the petition.

In the appointment of missionaries to the various Missions hence to San Diego, he appointed his assistant Father Fray Juan Crespi to that which had been selected at Carmelo. Father Crespi determined to live at that place, and to plan the work upon the church, and to construct dwellings for the soldiers and servants.

With this in view he moved to the shores of the Carmel River at the beginning of August, 1771, escorted by five soldiers from the Presidio. The three sailors and four California Indians were employed in cutting timber for the temporary church and dwellings for service and comfort, and a strong palisade for protection.

This work and the transportation of the few materials from the "old Mission" near the Presidio, occupied the workers until the latter part of December.

The Father gives a long description of the beauty of the situation of the new mission: the rolling pasture lands, the springs, the lagoon for irrigation, the River Carmel, and the view toward the ocean. He was delighted with the forests of pines, redwood, cypress and white poplars; the blackberry bushes and the infinity of roses of Castile. The "hermoso cielo" cheered his soul, and he was warmed to his life work by the numerous rancherias of heathen within his reach.

* We remained in Monterey until the 17th [October, 1827.] and then sailed for San Francisco to complete our water, which at the former place, besides being so scarce that we could hardly procure sufficient for our daily consumption, was very unwholesome, being brackish and mingled with the soapsuds of all the washerwomen in the place, and with streams from the bathing places of the Indians, into which they were in the habit of plunging immediately on coming out of the Temeschal."—Captain F. W. Beechey, R. N., Vol. II, page 321.

After all the necessary functions of taking possession and establishing the Presidio had been performed Governor Portolá and Engineer Costansó sailed for Mexico in the *San Antonio*.

Upon the arrival of Portolá and Costansó at the City of Mexico, they personally recounted to the Marqués de Croix the discoveries and occurrences of the two expeditions. This incident would appear to have prompted the Viceroy to write to Don Pedro Fagés, Governor of California, under date of November 12, 1770, complaining of the want of news of finding the Bay of San Francisco, which he describes as being in latitude $38^{\circ} 30'$. The original letter is among the Spanish Archives of this State. Other documents, as late as 1774, speak of it as not yet found.*

In closing this account of Monterey Bay and the Mission of San Carlos, it may not be considered out of place to record what two or three well-known navigators and explorers have said about them; La Pérouse, Vancouver, Simpson.

La Pérouse in 1786 and Vancouver in 1792 visited San Carlos, when services were held in the first adobe with thatched roof, and the three bells on a frame outside. At the time of their visits there were about eight hundred or a thousand Indians at the Mission.

La Pérouse reached the Bay of Monterey on the 14th of September, 1786, and says† it is formed by Point Año Nuevo on the north and Point Cypress on the south, giving eight leagues of opening between those points. He anchored off the Presidio in ten fathoms, but says the Spanish vessels anchor in six fathoms; and says the anchorage is protected from the strong south winds.

He found the bay full of whales so that they were sporting close to the vessel every minute.

The coast of the bay is hidden by almost eternal fogs.

The sea was covered with pelicans, which never go farther than five or six leagues from land, and the Spanish navigators take advantage of that fact when approaching the coast in a fog. They are common along the whole coast, and the Spaniards call them *Alkatrae*.

He found at anchor the Spanish cornettes *La Favorite* and *La*

* "Memorandum as to the Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco," by John T. Doyle. * * * Worcester, Mass., 1874: San Francisco, 1889. Pamphlet, 18 pages; page 13, note.

† Volume II, Chap. XI, page 247.

Princesse, under the command of Don ESTEVAN MARTINEZ; page 259. He found Don Pedro Fagés in command of the Presidio, and was treated by him in the most generous manner; and also by the Fathers of the Mission San Carlos when they arrived. He visited the Mission, which was illuminated as on fete days. The church is very neat, although covered with thatch; and is ornamented with good paintings copied from the originals in Italy; but he doubted whether “*le tableau du paradis, qui est vis-a-vis celui de l’ enfer,*” would produce much effect upon the Indians, whom he describes as small and feeble and very different from the vigorous natives of the northwest; but are very adroit with the bow and arrow. They appear to have no idea of independence, and to have no industry; page 261.

He criticises the treatment received by the natives, who were punished by being put in irons, in the stocks and subject to the lash; but these punishments were exercised with little severity; page 263. Felipe de Neve, who preceded Governor Fagés, was much opposed to the punishments imposed upon the natives. La Pérouse says that Father Firmin de la Suen, President of the Missions of Nueva California, was the most estimable man he had ever met; and that his sweetness, charity and love of the Indians were inexpressible.

Monterey and the Mission of San Carlos comprise the country of the Achastliens and the Ecclemachs. The former have a very weak language. The country of the Ecclemachs extends for twenty leagues to the east of Monterey; and the people have a language differing from all their neighbors, and which has a closer relation to the European languages than to those of America. And if they were originally strangers to this part of America, it was a long time ago; page 292.

La Pérouse left Monterey on the 24th of September. He had not made any survey of the vicinity of Point Pinos, nor of the Bay of Carmel. His large map in the Atlas clearly indicates that he considered the bold coast just west of Santa Cruz as the Point Año Nuevo of the Spaniards; and with that his general idea of the bay is fairly good as an eye sketch. It is No. 34 of the Atlas.

Governor Fagés presented him with a chart of the Pacific covering the southern route from Mexico to the Philippines, and the return route reaching to latitude 40°. He says it differs very little

from that which Lord Anson had captured from the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga*, June 20, O. S. 1741.

He mentions that from the discovery of the bay by Vizcaíno in 1602, it was occasionally resorted to by the galleons on their return trip from Manila, when in need of refreshment, wood and water; but this was after the Mission and Presidio had been established in 1770.

Capitan de Navío Don Alejandro Malaspina, with the discovery ships *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, reached Monterey Bay in September, 1791; and incidentally visited Carmel Mission, but made no surveys of the vicinity. He evidently considered Point Año Nuevo and Point Pinos the boundary limits of the Bay of Monterey. His narrative was not published until 1885.

Captain George Vancouver's visit to the Mission of San Carlos elicited a much more generous and kindly feeling toward the Fathers than was expressed by La Pérouse. Soon after his arrival at Monterey, he was escorted by Señores Quadra, Arguello, Caamano and Mr. Broughton to Carmel Bay. He mentions the pleasant trip and cannot refrain from noting the joy and satisfaction of the reverend Fathers at their coming. He enjoyed the heartiness of the greeting, which was cheered by the ringing of the Mission bells. He visited the adjacent country, describes the trees, the wheat field and the River Carmelo emptying directly into the sea. The present Mission church was then being built by Indian labor; and as part of the day's amusements the Indians gave an exhibition of their method of stalking deer. The Fathers entertained the party at dinner; and of the Reverend Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, President of the Missions of "New Albion" he writes: * "This "personage was about seventy-two years of age, whose gentle "manners, united to a most venerable and placid countenance, "indicated that tranquilized state of mind, that fitted him in an "eminent degree for presiding over so benevolent an institution."

It appears to have been long overlooked that Vancouver gives a good copperplate print of the old Mission adobe and thatched building, and the new one being erected near it. Volume II, page 10.

As late as 1841 Sir George Simpson, in his narrative, speaks of this "beautiful church" that had recently been injured by an earthquake. "The interior of this sacred edifice is more highly

* Vol. II, page 34.

"finished than is generally the case in the Missions, inasmuch
"as the skill and taste of the good Fathers have, in most instances,
"been reserved for the interior decorations." He says there were
then two elegant towers that sustained a peal of six bells, and on
the walls were two or three monuments. Vol. 1, pages 369-71.

There still remains upon the inner side of the walls of the
Mission, fortunately untouched by the ruthless hands of the white-
washer, the following inscription:

"O Corazon de Jesus que
Siempre ardes y resplandes
enciende e illumina él mio
de tu Amor Divino."

"Angeles
y Santos
alahemos a
el Corazon de
Jesus."

"O Heart of Jesus that always burnest and shinest, kindle and
illumine mine with thy Divine Love."

"Angels and Saints let us give praise to the Heart of Jesus."

TO THE YEAR 1772 THERE IS NO RECORD THAT ANY
EUROPEAN HAD SEEN THE ENTRANCE TO
THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

A writer in the Evening Bulletin of December 19, 1866, San Francisco, stated that it was likely that Sebastian Vizcaíno entered the Great Bay [of San Francisco] and that his charts had been kept secret by the Spanish Government to this date. As a matter of fact, the condensed outline of his thirty-two plans had been published in 1802; Venegas had failed to find them in 1739, but fully described his voyage in 1757.

Furthermore, the same writer refers to another writer (probably Rev. Edward Everett Hale), who had stated in 1865 that there was preserved in the Royal Library of Bavaria a sea chart having the date 1571 taken from Vaz Dourado's cartographical collection which had upon it a note in Portuguese which he translated: "In "the month of January, 1545, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, bound for "the Molucas, discovered this coast," and that he "counted over "forty different names from Cape San Lucas to the farthest point "north. The Bay of San Francisco is nearly at the end of the "map, and one island at the entrance of the bay is named Isla "Viciosa or Bad Island."

Over twenty years ago we obtained a full-sized photograph of the chart of Fez Fernaö Ullas Dourado of 1580 from the Imperial Museum of München. The original is beautifully illustrated on parchment. If these two charts are identical the declaration that San Francisco Bay is thereon represented is wholly unwarranted. In fact it is impossible to locate any body of water that looks like San Francisco Bay; and the legends indicate that the chart is largely a work of imagination.

At the northwest angle of the chart there is an "Illa Uicioza" at the southwest point of the entrance to a strait that is over 220 miles wide and recklessly filled with islands. There is a legend that a point four hundred miles eastward of the stait was "discovered by a ship." Moreover, the coast runs nearly west for about twelve hundred miles. This should close Dourado's supposed bay.

We have elsewhere shown that Francis Drake, the master free-booter, never saw the entrance to San Francisco Bay.* Nor had the Spaniards known its existence, although they had made the landfall of certain mountains on this coast. This fact is mentioned by Drake who had gotten from one of the Spanish galleons charts and sailing directions of the tracks of the vessels trading between Mexico and the Philippine Islands. He was following the coast southward from the Chetko River anchorage in latitude 42° 03' to Drakes Bay. "Besides, how unhandsome and deformed appear'd the face of the earth it selfe! shewing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenness in the moneths of *June* and *July*, * * * and that the north and northwest winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the north wind alone is in *August* and *September*, we not onely found it by our owne experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof (page 118) by the continued obseruations of the Spaniards."† Drake was at his anchorage from June 17th to July 23rd, when he sailed for the Moluccas, using the Spanish charts to guide him through the intricacies of the Netherlands Indies. His reference to the weather of this coast in August and September could have been gotten from the Spanish charts or narratives which he had seized.

In May, 1585, the Viceroy of New Spain, aware of the discovery by Drake, addressed a letter to the King of Spain in relation to the survey or reconnaissance of the coast of California. The King had already been advised that the returning galleons kept in sight of the land for seven hundred leagues before reaching Acapulco, and that the harbors on the coast were not known, so that vessels could find no shelter. The Viceroy says that from the south the coast of Nueva España reaches to the latitude of forty-two degrees, where the Philippine ships make their landfall; and that no settlements had been made on the whole coast.‡

In 1594 the *San Augustin* was ordered to make a reconnaissance of the California coast upon making her landfall when returning from the Philippines in 1595. As we have already mentioned she

* "Identification of Sir Francis Drake's anchorage on the coast of California in the year 1579." * * * 1890, page 14.

† "The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake * * * 1628"; page 117.

‡ Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California; 1891, page 15.

was wrecked at or near Drakes Bay in December; and two boats from her coasted thence to Navidad and Acapulco on the coast of Mexico. These boats may have passed the Golden Gate without seeing it; either on account of their distance therefrom, or on account of haze, fog, or darkness.

Finally, we have the expedition of Vizeaino in 1602-03, who anchored one stormy night in Drakes Bay; he did not see the Golden Gate.

It thus appears that we have no published official record of any Spanish or English vessel having seen the Golden Gate during the early years of Spain's activity in discovery and exploration in the northeast Pacific.

Our examination of the narratives of 1769 and 1770 satisfy us that no person whatever in those expeditions saw the Golden Gate.

THE CLAIM OF MIGUEL COSTANSO TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE GOLDEN GATE: 1772.

The examination of this claim compels us to present, in very brief terms, some of the material of the earlier part of this paper.

In 1767 the King of Spain ordered the Marqués de Croix, Viceroy of New Spain, to take efficient measures for preventing any invasion of the dominions of his Majesty on the western coast of North America. This was evidently prompted by the preparations being made in England to fit out an expedition under Captain James Cook to observe the transit of Venus, June 3, 1769, on some mid-Pacific island (Taheitee) and then to continue explorations for the discovery of new lands, without England seeking the permission of the King of Spain who claimed the division of the unknown world under the Bull of Pope Alexander VI of May 3rd and 4th, 1493. The advance of Russia among the Aleutian Islands and on the main coast of Northwest America may have had a secondary influence, because we know that later, in 1774, Don Juan Perez reached the northwest coast as far north as fifty-five degrees.

The Viceroy appointed a political and military Governor of the western part of Mexico bordering on the Gulf of California, the Most Illustrious Señor Don Joseph Gálvez, Visitador General. In 1768 he also appointed Don Gaspar de Portolá, Captain of Dragoons in the Regiment of Spain, the political and military Governor of the Californias; and the Visitador General generously proffered his services, which were accepted.

Two expeditions were planned to reach Upper or Nueva California; one by land and one by sea. That by sea failed, and need not be referred to.

For the land expedition, when it left San Diego July 14, 1769, Governor Portolá selected two army officers to accompany him; Lieutenant Don Pedro Fagés and Don Miguel Costansó; the latter to act as engineer. The missionary of the party was the Reverend Father Fray Juan Crespi.

After the return of this land expedition from the ineffectual attempt to locate Vizcaíno's "famous Port" of Monterey, and the discovery of the southeastern part of San Francisco Bay, the engineer made a long report mainly in the shape of a diary of the operations of the expedition. It was dated at San Diego February 7, 1770; two weeks after their arrival. We have a

manuscript copy of this report before us; it is not directed to any official, but is certified June 20, 1770, at Mexico by Francisco Xavier.

Father Crespi made a report in the form of a diary to the Father President. This is found in the "Noticias de la Nueva California" by the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Paloú; Vol. II, pages 99-244.

No mention is made that any chart or map accompanied either of these reports.

On the 16th of April, 1770, Governor Portolá left San Diego on the second land expedition, accompanied by Captain Pedro Fagés, and arrived at Monterey May 24th. The sea expedition, with Father President Junípero Serra and Costansó, arrived May 31st; and on June 3rd, after each and all had declared that they now found this port exactly as described by Vizcaíno, the formal ceremonies of taking possession of the country for the King of Spain were duly carried out.

Here it should be borne in mind that in the two days' council of December, 1769, Portolá, Rivera, Fagés and Costansó declared that having found no signs of the Port of Monterey as described by Vizcaíno, they had continued their exploration northward to Point San Pedro, etc.

In June, 1770, Portolá, Fagés and Costansó declared that all the signs of the famous port noted by Vizcaíno were promptly recognized at Monterey; that the port extended from Point Pinos to Point Año Nuevo, and was protected from all winds but those from the northwest.

Father Crespi joined in both decisions.

Between the points mentioned the distance is thirty-five nautical miles, and Point Año Nuevo, as now known, can not be seen from Point Pinos. This bay is an open roadstead protected from the strong southeast and southwest winds of winter.

All the officers and the missionaries trusted to Vizcaíno's report; they knew nothing of his charts, and on both occasions they had the benefit of Cabrera Bueno's Coast Pilot.

Vizcaíno was a romancer of a high order, proven by several letters as well as by that of May 23, 1603, addressed to the King of Spain. In this, among other exaggerations, he declared that the Port of Monte-Rey was in latitude 37° , and sheltered from all

winds (*el puerto abrigado de todos los vientos*); but his cartographer was evidently capable and honest. His chart shows the bay open to the northwest, although running deeper into the land than it really does.

Vizcaíno's description must have influenced later cartographers, because the "Plan of Monterey on California by Don Josef Tobar y Tamariz, 7th December 1786," published by Dalrymple in 1789 without scale, is so remarkably distorted that the publisher declared the orientation erroneous by ninety degrees. The orientation is correct.

The next paper we find from Engineer Costansó is one signed at "Mexico and October 24 of 1770." It is not in the form of a diary. It commences as the former report. It gives many more particulars, some of which are quite interesting.

This report is not addressed to any official nor is it signed, but after the date is the legend. "With permission and by order "of the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy. At the Imprint of the "Superior Government."

On page 478 of "The Land of Sunshine" for June, 1901, Mr. Chas. F. Lummis has given a translation of Costansó's report of August 16, 1770, and a *fac simile* of the title page; but although published by order of the Viceroy, the date of publication is not given.

On the 30th of October, 1770, Costansó presented a "Carta Reducida Del Oceano Asiático ó Mar del Súr," compiled by order of the Viceroy. He says he obtained his materials from pilots who had been on the coast, from those who had gone to San Deigo and Monterey, etc. He never mentions the land expeditions or the commander thereof.

In 1790 Dalrymple published a copy of this chart which has the notice, "Engraved by Tomas Lopez. Madrid. 1771," as in the original.

On each of these charts is laid down the "Estero de San Francisco," the entrance thereto, and two arms, one running to the northeast and the other to the southeast; "Los Farellones," the "Pta. de los Reyes," and the "Pto. de San Francisco."

At that time the Golden Gate had not been seen, and could not have been seen by the land expedition of 1769. It would have been

a wonderful discovery and have changed the whole plans of Portolá and of the Government, as afterwards occurred.

In neither report had such a claim been made. The two diaries and the third report are conclusive on that point. Portolá had certainly not reported it in his personal communication with the Viceroy.

In March, 1772, Señor Captain Don Pedro Fagés, accompanied by Father Crespi, made an exploration from the Mission of San Carlos through the Santa Clara Valley and around the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay to the Strait of Karquinez, and the River San Francisco, both of which he discovered. On this trip the party first saw the Golden Gate, as elsewhere related. Father Paloú sent the report of Father Crespi in a letter to Señor Secretary Don Melchor de Peramas. Father Paloú's letter and Father Crespi's report reached Costansó, then in Mexico, and he thereupon addressed a letter to Don Melchor de Peramas, dated October 9, 1772, making a claim that from the heights of Point San Pedro, "there was also seen, toward the north, another great precipitous "barranca; and by it entered a copious estero, with two medium- "sized islets in the same mouth; all in the form shown by the "adjoined small plan, whose rough draft I made at that time."*

As a matter of fact the Golden Gate could not have been seen from his position when crossing Point San Pedro; nor did the scouts report such an extraordinary entrance. That he did not see the Golden Gate is further shown by his reference to the "Coast Pilot" of Cabrera Bueno. He says: "At the sight of these land- "marks I consulted a book of sailing-directions which I carried, by "one Cabrera, a good Pilot, who was of the Ships of the Philip- "pines. And as these [landmarks] agreed with the notices of this "[book], it seemed to me beyond all doubt that what we had before "us was the Port of San Francisco, in which, says the same "Cabrera, the vessel called the 'San Augustin' was lost in the year "of 1595, coming to explore the coasts of this continent of America, "by order of the Señor Phillip the Second. But some Mariners of "its Crew, with the Pilot, saved themselves, who, traversing the "immense Country which intervenes between the said Port and "New Biscay, arrived at the end of many days at "Sombrerete

* "Out West," Vol. XVI, No. 1: January, 1902. * * * Edited by Chas. F. Lummis, page 56-59, from documents never before published in English.

"[eighty-five miles northwest of Zacatecas] of that Government, "bordering upon New Galicia."

Cabrera Bueno describes in unmistakable terms the old Puerto de San Francisco, or Drakes Bay.

Cabrera's statement about the people of the *San Augustin* wrecked in that bay in 1595 is clearly disproved by documentary evidence. The truth is that a barefooted Friar and another person were drowned, but the rest of the people and the officers, numbering seventy and more, left the wreck in two boats and reached the ports of Navidad and Acapulco in safety in January, 1596, and the official reports have been published.* The "copious estuary" he describes by the side of the "precipitous barranca" of Ballenas Point, was the valley stretching thence to Tomales Bay.

The conclusion we have reached is this: That when Governor Portolá's first expedition arrived at its northern limit at San Pedro Cove in latitude $37^{\circ} 35' 50''$, the Golden Gate was not seen by any person of the expedition; nor did the scouts even report the existence of the Laguna de la Merced, two miles long, lying in the oblique transverse valley between the ocean and the bay shore south of San Bruno Mountain (1,315 feet), and the mountain mass culminating at the Twin Peaks (925 feet). After seeing the southeastern part of the Bay of San Francisco and its undefined extension to the northward Costansó may have suspected some other entrance through some unseen break in the mountains, but his diary dated February 7, 1770, does not mention such suspicion; nor does his long account of December 5th, 1769, when he was at Carmel Bay.

And when he returned to Monterey Bay with the second expedition of Governor Portolá no reference is made to the supposition by any one.

On his chart of October, 1770, there is exhibited a rough idea of the bay and entrance; but in his descriptive title thereto it is noticeable that he does not make claim to having seen the Golden Gate, nor does he refer to Governor Portolá as the chief of the two expeditions; it might be inferred that he, Costansó, was the leader.

* "Proceedings of the Historical Society of Southern California;" Documents from the Sutro Collection. Translated, annotated, and edited by Geo. Butler Griffin. * * * Los Angeles; * * * 1891. Copies of Originals and Translations, pages 19-22.

After Captain Pedro Fagés and Father Crespi looked through the Golden Gate from the vicinity of Berkeley in 1772, the latter made the discovery known, and then, but not until then, did Costansó put forward his claim as the discoverer in 1769.

It will be recalled that each and all persons of the expedition of 1769 considered the rocky, compact coast northward of Point San Pedro to el Puerto de San Francisco under the eastern promontory of Point Reyes Head was broken only by an *enseñada* at Ballenas Bay; and Constansó strained a point in his estimating Point Reyes Head to be only nine minutes of latitude north of Point San Pedro. When at this latter point he says the "signs for finding "the Port of San Francisco did not disagree a point (so far as we "were able to judge) from those referred to by the Pilot Cabrera "Bueno"; and we know that Cabrera gave only a continuous and compact rocky shore from Drakes Bay to Point San Pedro.

Fathers Crespi and Palou believed the discovery of 1772 was new and the latter communicated the former's report to Secretary Peramas that he might experience the gladness they both felt.

In this connection it may be permitted to recall the references of Robert Greenhow, at one time translator in the Department of State at Washington, and later with the Spanish Claims Commission in California. He was well conversant with all the diplomatic relations between Spain, Mexico and the United States, and with the early history of discovery and exploration, save a personal knowledge of the seabord of the northwest coast.

We quote from two of his books.

1840.

"An account of the establishment of the first colonies on the west coast of California was drawn up by Don Miguel Costansó, the engineer of the expedition [of 1769] and published at Mexico in the latter part of 1770; but it was immediately suppressed by the Government. Fortunately, however, ever a copy was carried to England, where a translation was made from it and published in 1790. This trans-

1847.

"This account of the first Spanish colonies on the west coast of California is derived from—the narrative of Miguel Costansó, the engineer of the expedition, which was published at Mexico in 1771, and immediately suppressed by the Government; a copy, however, escaped to England, from which a translation was published at London in 1790, by A. Dalrymple—and from the biography of Friar Junípero

"lation is accompanied by other
"useful articles with regard to
"the northwest coast, and by
"several maps and plans of
"the harbors in that part of
"America. The work is in the
"library of Congress."

Senate [174], 26th Congress,
1st Session. Feb. 10th, 1840.
Note on page 53.

"Serra, the principal of the
"Franciscans who accompanied
"the expedition, written by
"Friar Francisco Palou, and
"published in Mexico in 1787."

The History of Oregon and California * * * by Robert Greenhow, * * * Fourth Edition, Boston, 1847. Note on page 108.

These statements of the suppression of the narrative suggest the suppression of the chart; and during the period of withholding the information from the world, Costansó had ample time to correct his chart to conform to the discovery and exploration of the east shore of the bay to the mouth of the San Joaquin by Captain Fagés in 1772; and then made his reclamation to Secretary Peramas, October 9, 1772.

Furthermore, we have presumptive evidence that they must have doubted the existence of a direct communication between the primero estero and the ocean such as the Golden Gate. They had learned of the existence of the ocean tide at San Diego and along the coast, yet while they were on the shore of San Francisco Bay we have not a word from Portolá, Rivera, Costansó, Father Crespi and Ortega, that any tide was observed. In their four days' stay such an observed phenomenon would have excited them and called for farther exploration.

Summing up the evidence our judgment is adverse to the claim of Costansó.

THE FIRST SIGHT OF THE GOLDEN GATE BY THE FAGES EXPEDITION OF 1772.

On Friday, the 20th of March, 1772, El Señor Captain Comandante Don Pedro Fagés, accompanied by Father Juan Crespi and twelve soldiers, two servants, and a pack train, left the San Carlos Mission to make a reconnaissance to the old Port of our Father San Francisco (Drakes Bay) to determine the proper location for a Mission there.

The party proceeded from Monterey through the valleys leading to the southern part of the great estero seen by the Portolá land expedition of 1769. They crossed the Salinas River, which had been named the Santa Delfina*; reached the San Benito near the present town of San Juan†; and on the 22nd encamped a little beyond old Gilroy (San Isidro) on the Llagas Creek. They continued to the northwest along the Coyote Creek, entered the Santa Clara Valley, and continued their journey under the foot hills along the eastern shore of the bay. On Thursday, the 26th, they reached the San Antonio Creek, and the oak covered bosque of the present site of Oakland, whence they looked into the Golden Gate, which they named "la Bocana de la Enseñada de los Farallones." Oakland Creek was named "el Arroyo del Bosque." On Friday, the 27th, continuing toward Berkeley, and near the present site of the University of California, they saw through the Golden Gate, and recognized seven or more Farallones. They must have been as much as two hundred and fifty feet above the waters of the bay to have seen the several peaks of the Southeast Farallon; they could not have seen the Northwest Farallones.

The party continued its exploration to the northward, but not along the bay shore; they left the Richmond hills (Potrero de San Paula) to the westward, and reached the south shore of San Pablo Bay about five miles eastward of San Pablo Point. As they could not continue along the rocky shore hence to and through the Karquinez Strait, they must have moved eastward through the valleys and over the hills toward Martinez. This strait is ten miles

* "Santa Delfina, virgén y esposa de San Elceario; Saturday, October 7, 1769. Paloú, "Noticias," Vol. II, page 180.

† Mission of San Juan Bautista, founded June 24, 1797.

long east and west, with a minimum width of half a mile, and both shores are steep-to, for the greater part of its extent.

The first open valley the party reached was at Martinez, but from the hills, before descending thereto, they had a partial view of the great Valley of California beyond and to the eastward. Thence they kept some distance in from the shore, broken by the Pacheco Creek, and the long spur of hills that runs northward from Mount Diablo. Keeping away from the marshy areas that skirt the south shore of Suisun Bay the party continued along the left or south bank of the San Joaquin River nearly as far as Antioch, where they ascended a hillock, probably Los Médanos, and saw spread before them the vast plains sweeping round from the south, by the east, to the north, with the relatively low Montezuma hills to the west of north and distant about six miles. Close under these hills runs the Sacramento River.

The party saw the courses of the two rivers through the tule swamps, but doubtless considered them as one broad stream with branches. In the far distance, at one hundred and thirty miles, they saw the Sierra Nevada where it reaches elevations over ten thousand feet above the sea.

To the San Joaquin River Comandante Fagés gave the name of Father San Francisco, and announced it as the largest river discovered in New Spain; where he overlooked it the width is nearly one mile, with a good depth of water.

As the river and its branches, and the low lying tule marshes prevented the passage of the party toward el Puerto de San Francisco, under la Punta de los Reyes, the Comandante determined to return to Monterey; but not to retrace his steps along the bay shore. From his different positions eastward of Martinez he saw that Mount Diablo was standing well out into the plains and eastward of the lower range south of Martinez; he therefore returned to the eastward of the spur ending on Suisun Bay, and followed up the Pacheco Valley, which he named Santa Angela de Fulgino; passed through the San Ramon Valley on the west side of Mount Diablo, through the Amador and Suñol Valleys (the latter of which he named Santa Coleta), and down the Alameda Cañon to the site of the future Mission of San José.

On Thursday, the second of April, the party encamped at the stream named San Franciseo de Paula (probably Coyote Creek),

near the present village of Milpitas, and then continued on the old trail to Monterey, which they reached on Sunday, the 5th of April.

Father Crespi made a report of his experience on this exploration to Father Fray Francisco Paloú, who transmitted the same to Señor Secretary Don Melchor de Peramas. In this report he writes that in 1772 they had sought to found a Mission at the Port of San Francisco but "it was not accomplished because of the obstacle of an estero "or arm of the Sea which, in the year '69, we had seen to penetrate "inland when we fell upon the Enseñada de los Farallones from "Point Reyes." His diary of 1769 does not say they saw any other sign of an estero than just east of the white cliffs of Point Ballenas; which was indicated by the low valley between Ballenas Bay and Tomales Bay.

Of this report of June 15, 1772, Father Paloú writes: "I give "this information to Your Grace in order if it seems well to you, "that you may communicate it to his Excellency, that he may be "relieved, and for the gladness it may cause him [to know] what is "newly discovered in the famous Port of San Francisco,"* i. e., the puerto that extended from Point Reyes to Point San Pedro. The new discovery was the Golden Gate.

Without doubt the Fathers at the San Carlos Mission had in 1770, '71, '72 obtained from the Indians some idea of the character and extent of the present Bay of San Francisco. They may have learned of the entrance to the bay, and of the large rivers that entered into it; but they expressed no such knowledge before their start. Of course the Indian information must have been vague, but it would appear to have been sufficient to cause them to follow the east shore of the bay to reach the Port of San Francisco by the enseñada under the white cliffs of Ballenas Point.

After weighing all the evidence now before him, including the descriptions of Cabrera Bueno, the Reverend Father President believed that if they were to found a Mission at the Puerto de San Francisco the shortest and best means would be to go by sea from "la punta de las Almejas" or Point San Pedro to "la punta de los Reyes" across "la Enseñada de los Farallones";† but they had no vessel or boat.

* "Out West," January, 1902, page 58.

† "Noticias," Vol. III, page 25.

THE FIRST LAND EXPEDITION THAT REACHED THE GOLDEN GATE.

RIVERA: 1774.

By order of his Excelentísimo Señor Baylio Frey,* Dn. Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, Viceroy of Spain, the Comandante of the new establishments of the Northwest Coasts, Capitan Don Fernando de Rivera y Monecada, who had taken command of California at Monterey, May 25th, 1774, determined to have a survey made to demonstrate the source, length, size and advantages of Fagés' Rio de San Francisco of 1772, for the establishment of missions. It will be remembered that Rivera had accompanied Governor Portolá in the expedition of 1769.

On Wednesday, the 23rd of November, 1774, the Comandante, with an escort of sixteen soldiers, one servant, and a pack train with forty days' provisions, accompanied by the Reverend Father Francisco Paloú and a young sacristan to help at mass, started from the Mission of San Carlos along the route of 1772 through the valleys now occupied by the Southern Pacific Railroad; but instead of passing along the eastern side of the Bay of San Francisco they continued along the western shore. On Monday, the 28th, they reached the Guadalupe Creek which, he says, was the farthest point that the expedition of 1769 reached in November the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th. They were so pleased with this location for a Mission that they fixed the standard of the Holy Cross, and with proper ceremonies dedicated this place to the site of a Mission to the Seraphic Father San Francisco. It is now the Mission of Santa Clara, founded January 18, 1777.†

On Tuesday, the 29th, the party reached the stream by which route we believe the Portolá party of 1769 had come from the mountains to the bay shore. They entered the contracted valley of the stream and followed it into the Cañada de Raymundo, and thence northwestward through the San Andrés Valley, which they named in honor of that "apóstol." On the 30th they reached the hills at the head of the cañada, and encamped at a small lake, with San Bruno Mountain about four miles distant to the north, and the present San Bruno railroad station two miles east. This

* Knight Commander.

† The Indian name of the locality was "Socoistika," or laurel tree. "Resources of California," by John S. Hittel, San Francisco, 1863: 8vo., page 409.

location is readily recognized on the contoured map of the Peninsula of San Francisco by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

On Thursday, the first of December, the captain and four soldiers made a reconnaissance to the summit of the mountain (1315 feet elevation) hoping to see the Golden Gate therefrom, but it was hidden by the high hills of the Twin Peaks, which rise 925 feet above the sea.

The weather was cold and rainy, the southwest wind was violent, and their shelter was very poor. On the second of December the party changed camp and moved down into the plains; and encamped during a violent southeaster.

On Sunday, the 4th, they followed the plains northwestwardly, skirting the southwest flank of San Bruno Mountain, and because the ground was soft from the rain, they kept on the high ground around the east and northeast shores of the Laguna de la Merced, heading the deep line of drainage; thence diagonally northwestwardly over part of the great sand dunes, and came upon the ocean beach one and a half miles south of Point Lobos. Here the party encamped a short distance in from the beach where they found shelter and water. At high noon Captain Rivera, with Father Paloú and four soldiers, climbed to the top of Point Lobos, which then rose three hundred and eighty-one feet above the sea.* This bold headland overlooks the coast hence to Point San Pedro to the south, the Gulf of the Farallones, the Southeast Farallon, the Northwest Farallones, the white cliffs in Drakes Bay, the "barrancas blancas" of Ballenas Point, and the Punta de los Reyes, behind whose eastern promontory lies the Puerto de San Francisco which they had hoped to reach in 1769 and in 1772. All the surroundings are fully described in the report and are readily recognized. On the outer and rocky summit of this headland, "which up to this time had never received the footprint of Spaniard or any Christian," they fixed the standard of the Holy Cross, supported by two rocks standing upright *in situ*.† Father

* Point Lobos is being somewhat cut down to allow the mounting of the heaviest guns to protect the approaches and entrance to the Bay. This location is now known by the War Department as Fort Miley.

† Some years before the summit was levelled we visited the rocky point, and broke a piece from one of two rocks standing close together. It was placed in the Museum of St. Ignatius College, San Francisco.

Vicente Santa-Maria placed two letters at the foot of the cross, afterwards recovered by Father Paloú in 1775. We do not need to refer further to this expedition than to say that Comandante Rivera decided to abandon any attempt to examine the River San Francisco of Captain Fagés and Father Crespi; or to try to reach the old Port of San Francisco under Point Reyes. The weather was boisterous and rainy, and therefore he determined to return to Monterey by the ocean beach as far as Point San Pedro (which Captain Portolá had reached in 1769 from the southward), and thence retrace the line of travel of that year.

Captain Rivera could get no observations for the latitude of Point Lobos, and so he adopted the observations of Captain Fagés in 1772 (as determined by bearings from Oakland or Berkeley), $37^{\circ} 54'$. But Fagés could not have seen Point Lobos from the eastern shore of the Bay of San Francisco, and he must have observed upon Fort Point or Point Diablo. Fort Point is in latitude $37^{\circ} 48' 30''$.

In the same season there was a sea expedition from Monterey to the far north, but we need not refer to it further than to say, that in August, 1774, Capitan Don Juan Perez, in the packet boat *Santiago* (alias the *Nueva Galicia*), reached the latitude of 55° , discovered the Entrada de Perez, now known as Dixon Entrance; and upon his return he made the Northwest Farallones in unfavorable weather and when within a league of the group the vessel's course was changed to the southwestward in order to leave them to leeward, because the captain did not think there was a good passage between them and the shore. He afterwards saw the Southeast Farallon, but on account of the fog he could not make out the coast.*

* We have a copy of his manuscript narrative, and copies of the narratives of Fray Tomás de la Peña, and Fray Juan Crespi.

THE FARALLONES: FATHERS CRESPI AND PENA IN 1774.

Confusion was introduced by Father Crespi as to whether the Farallones seen by Portolá and himself in 1769 from Point San Pedro were the same as those seen by Perez and himself on the 25th of August, 1774. The Father and Father Peña accompanied Captain Don Juan Perez in the fragata *Santiago* (*álias Nueva Galicia*) in his voyage of exploration to latitude 55° on the northwest coast in 1774. Each Father made a report of the voyage to the Father Presidente Junípero Serra.

Father Crespi was assigned to this duty that he might make observations for latitude on shore wherever they landed. His report has been published and translated,* and we retranslate that part of the narrative which relates to the Farallones. It should be remembered that he accompanied the land expedition of Governor Portolá in 1769, and was with the expedition of Comandante Don Pedro Fagés around the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay in March, 1772, in both of which expeditions he had view of the peaks of the Southeast Farallon.

On Friday, the 26th of August, 1774, when the *Santiago* was nearing Point Reyes the fog was so thick they could not see the distance of a musket shot, and they suddenly came upon the North Farallones. The vessel passed them at the distance of a league and then saw the peaks of the Southeast Farallon; the groups are nearly two leagues apart. He says Vizcaino makes no mention of them; that is true but they are on his chart. Father Crespi refers to Cabrera Bueno (1734) who declared they made a good landmark for finding the Puerto de San Francisco [Drakes Bay].

We translate the rest of his remarks: "The Farallones, which in "the land expedition of the year 1769 wherein I took part, and "which we saw on the 31st of October as I relate in my diary, are "different from all these I now see. Indeed it was not possible to "see these from the place whence the land expedition saw those, "which place was the shore [playa] of the gulf [enceñada] on "the other side and almost [quasi] opposite to that punta de "Reyes. Therefore from the shore we surveyed and took bearings "of those farallones which we saw and they bore W. 1/2 S. W., and

* "Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California." * * *
Los Angeles * * * 1891.

"Point Reyes bore W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. W.; that is to say two quarter points apart; and those which we now have seen run or trend more to the N. W.—S. E. In the land expedition when we surveyed the farallones we were within the gulf or pocket [enceñada ó bolson] distant only some three leagues from the mouth of the two great lakes [esteros] and had in sight the seven farallones that were distant from us about a league and a half and the punta de Reyes was distant in an air line about eighteen leagues, and as these two chains [cordilleras] of the farallones are only five leagues from the coast and Point Reyes, according to the judgment of Captain Don Juan Perez, it follows that the land expedition, when it discovered in the great gulf the seven farallones of which the diaries speak should have made the distance of these we have seen today twenty-three leagues, and consequently they cannot be the same, but others distinct, and at that time it was not possible that the land expedition could have seen them. I note this to avoid all error [equivocation].

* * * * *

"In witness whereof I sign this at the Mission of San Carlos de Monte-Rey at Carmelo on the 5th of October, 1774.

"FRAY JUAN CRESPI."

It is evident that Father Crespi had been trusting to his memory, when he said the Southeast Farallon, 340 feet high, was seen at a league and a half from Point San Pedro. It is twenty-four miles distant, and bears N. 70° W. true; Point Reyes Head, 597 feet high, is distant thirty-four miles, and could not be seen from the playa at San Pedro Cove; it bears N. $44\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ W. therefrom. The North Farallones which reach 155 feet elevation are six miles northwest from the Southeast Farallon; but Father Crespi says they must be twenty-three leagues distant from Point San Pedro, instead of twenty-nine and a half miles.

As Father Fray Tomas de la Peña was on the same expedition and noted what he saw about the Farallones, we appeal to his narrative in relation thereto.*

On the 25th of August Captain Perez estimated his latitude to be about 38° , and fifteen leagues from the coast; the weather was

* "Relacion (muy poco interesante) del mismo viage en 1774 escrita por el Padre Fray Tomás de la Peña y Surabia que acompañó a Don Juan Perez." MS. from the Department of State.

too thick to permit latitude observations, but he "saw the Farallones of San Fransico distant one league." This date differs from that of Father Peña, who says that on the 26th the land could not be seen, at 10 A. M. When steering to the eastward they saw the Farallones to the southwest and the ship laid a course outside them because the captain did not know whether there was a good passage between them and the coast. At 11 A. M., with the wind blowing fresh, but favorably, they were near the northern group when they saw the southern group two leagues to the southeast from the northern. He enumerates the seven peaks for the Northwest Farallones; and through the thick atmosphere he thought he saw six peaks of the Southeast Farallon, of which the middle one was the highest. They could not see the land.

Father Peña's statement is correct. Captain Perez makes no detailed statement of the Farallones in his account of the voyage.*

* "Copia de un Extracto" (que puede considerarse como autentico y oficial) del viage de Don Juan Perez, Piloto y Alferez de Fragata de la Real Admada en 1774, con la fragata Santiago desde San Blas de California a Monterey y luego a los descubrimientos de la Costa Setentrional.—Manuscript from the Department of State, Washington.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF 1775-76 FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDIO, FORT AND MISSION ON THE BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

These expeditions were organized in the City of Mexico to examine the Bay of San Francisco and the Golden Gate; to select sites for the Fort, the Presidio and the Mission, and to colonize the country, under the command of Señor Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza.

In 1774 there had grown a strong sentiment in New Spain to found Presidios and Missions in California, which culminated in the events of 1775 and 1776.

The Pious Fund of California was available for such work; earnest and enthusiastic padres; explorers and discoverers eager for wealth and renown; and founders of new states ambitious for power, were alike anxious to reach California.

The Viceroy Bucareli had an able and ardent officer, Lieutenant Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza, who on the 24th of November, 1774, received the decree of the Viceroy to march to California by the way of the Colorado River; a journey of over twenty-five hundred miles. At the same time preparations were made to send northward four vessels from San Blas as already mentioned.

In the City of Mexico Bucareli liberally assisted Anza with public moneys, arms, animals and material; and the latter started with part of the officers, men and animals. He recruited at San Filipe in Sinaloa, and again at San Miguel de Horcasitas, Sonora. Here they were ready September 23rd, 1775; and started for the Presidio of Tubac October 23rd. His officers were Ensign José Joaquin Moraga, Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva, with twenty-eight mounted soldiers (with leather or hide jackets) and their families, settlers with their families, muleteers, vaqueros and interpreters. There were four friars with the expedition, of whom Padre Predicador Fray Pedro Font de Querétaro was to remain in California. There were in all two hundred and thirty-five persons, of whom two hundred and seven were to remain in California. With this body were 165 mules and 320 head of neat cattle.

Colonel Anza's diary of this extraordinary migration for the peaceful settlement of California and Christianizing the natives is not in the archives of the United States Surveyor General of

California, but is in the archives at the City of Mexico, and has been copied for Mr. Zoeth S. Eldredge of San Francisco. Father Font's rough narrative or barrador is in the University of California, and we have made a copy thereof, with all the erasures and corrections. It relates this trip of Colonel Anza, and is sufficient for our present purpose.

The untiring energy, executive and administrative ability of Anza overcame all difficulties and obstacles; and his prudence and conciliation secured peace and goodwill among the Indians. He did not lose a life in his long journey, and entered California in the mid-winter storms. There was much suffering from exposure; and fear from earthquakes, but no murmuring against the heroic leader.

The expedition reached the Mission of San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, January 4th, 1776; relieved the fears and dangers of Captain Rivera at the Mission of San Diego; pressed northward, and *reached Monterey on the afternoon of March 10th, 1776*; four and one-half months from Tubac, Mexico.

Leaving Colonel Anza at Monterey, we bring forward the sea expeditions to the same date.

THE FIRST VESSEL TO ENTER THE GOLDEN GATE: THE SAN CARLOS: 1775.

The four vessels that left San Blas on the 16th of March, 1775, bound for California and farther north were (I), the *San Antonio* (alias *El Príncipe*), Lieutenant Fernando Quirós, with Fray Ramon Usson as chaplain. She went only to San Diego and returned to her home port. (II), The *San Carlos* (alias *Toysón de Oro* or Golden Fleece), under Don Manuel Manrique, who became insane the next day and was taken ashore. The command was then given to Lieutenant Juan Bautista de Ayala, with Fray Vicente Santa-Maria as chaplain. This vessel was to carry supplies to Monterey and the northern Missions, and was ordered to sound out the Port of San Francisco. She reached Monterey June 27, 1775.

On the Carmelo River her carpenters constructed from a single trunk of redwood a fishing boat or Cayuco, intended for the discharging of freight, and subsequent exploration. Father Paloú says the *San Carlos* sailed for the survey of San Francisco on the 27th of July; and the same day the padre began a Novena to Nuestro Seráfico Padre San Francisco. On the day of concluding this nine days' religious service the vessel arrived off the port, August 5th; and the launch was sent in to sound and report any dangers.* At that season of the year the prevailing westnorthwest winds draw strongly through the Golden Gate, and it was therefore prudent to make the boat reconnaissance. After noon the boat should have had a strong and long flood current in her favor for at least one and a quarter hours after high water, or until eight o'clock P. M.

As the launch did not return and evening was coming on, and probably in agreement with smoke signals, the *San Carlos* followed through the Golden Gate in the failing sunlight and increasing moonlight, and anchored without difficulty, very likely off the south shore abreast the present Presidio. The next day the launch joined

* At that date the sun set at 7:05 local mean time. The moon was nine days old and the declination south $14^{\circ} 20'$; she was on the meridian at 7:09 P. M. and at an elevation of $37^{\circ} 47'$; and set at 27 minutes after midnight. The times and heights of the tides were as follows:

August 5th, High water at 6:23 A. M., 4.5 feet above low water plane.

" Low water at 11:36 A. M., 1.4 feet above low water plane.

" High water at 6:09 P. M., 5.0 feet above low water plane.

August 6th, Low water at 0:07 A. M., 0.4 foot above low water plane.

her, and the vessel changed her anchorage to the north side of the Golden Gate in Carmelito Bay, the present Sausalito, where she found good anchorage with abundance of wood and water. They named the high island opposite the anchorage La Isla de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles; the present Angel Island of 771 feet elevation.

The paquebot *San Carlos*, or *Golden Fleece*, under command of Lieutenant Juan Bautista de Ayala, was therefore the first known vessel that passed through the Golden Gate into the grand estero; a Mediterranean Sea, as some of the old navigators have called it.

Forty or more days were spent in quite a thorough examination of the entrance, the extension of the bay to the northward by the first pilot, Don José Cañizares, and the bay to the southward by the second pilot, Don Juan Bautista Aguiray, or Aguirre.

In this survey the indentation of Mission Bay was examined by the second pilot, who named it "la Enseñada de Los Llorones."*

Father Paloú further states that this position is within one league of that selected for the Presidio of San Francisco to the northward near the "cantil blanco" or white cliff, now Fort Point.

Upon his return to Monterey Lieutenant Ayala assured Father Junípero Serra that the great estero was not alone one harbor, but a multitude of harbors with a single entrance; and was capable of holding all the vessels of Spain.

Among the explorers by land there had been a belief that this new port communicated with the old port or Drakes Bay, because from the southeast shore of San Pablo Bay they had seen the broad stretch of the bay toward the northwest, and the low lands of the Petaluma Valley beyond. The survey of the northern part of the bay by Pilot Cañizares destroyed that surmise.

We may mention that while the *San Carlos* was anchored at Sausalito Bay Father Vicente Santa-Maria visited a rancheria on that shore, and was well received by the Indians. Several shell mounds along the shores in that vicinity, as well as all around the bay, attest that the region was well peopled.

* Father Paloú refers to this as "la Enseñada de los Llorones," page 103; and on page 143 he writes far too briefly of Colonel Anza's survey of the Bay of San Francisco: "y llegando á la playa de la enseñada que los mari-tímos llamaron de los Llorones, cruzó un arroyo por donde de desagua una grande laguna, que llamó de los Dolores, y le pareció este sitio buena para la misión." Edition of 1874, Vol. IV.

(III) The fragata *Santiago* (álias *Principe*) and (IV) the schooner *Felicidad* (álias *Sonora*) left San Blas on March 16th with the other two vessels mentioned, for the exploration of the northwest coast, and then to return to Monterey.* The fragata *Santiago* was under the command of Don Bruno de Heceta (or Ezeta), lieutenant of the Navy, with Don Juan Perez as pilot, and Fathers Miguel de la Campa and Benito Sierra as chaplains. The schooner *Felicidad* (álias the *Sonora*) was under the command of Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, lieutenant of Fragata.†

Bodega intentionally separated from the fragata on the northern coast in latitude $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ between Cape Elizabeth and Destruction Island, on the 30th of July; and the *Santiago* returned to Monterey August 29th. The *Sonora* then sailed ten degrees farther north, and returned to Monterey on the 7th of October. On her way from the north she discovered Bodega Bay on the 3rd of October, passed the old Port of San Francisco, and between five and six o'clock of the 5th, came close to the entrance to the new Port of San Francisco, and reduced her soundings from twenty-seven to twelve fathoms. But no disembarkation was attempted on account of the vessel being short handed from the effects of scurvy and also because she had lost her canoe off the entrance to Bodega Bay.

When Captain Heceta of the *Santiago* learned that the paquebot *San Carlos* had already gone to the new Port of San Francisco, he organized a land party to assist in the survey of the bay and harbor. He was very probably prompted by Father President Crespi, who assigned Father Paloú and Father Miguel de la Campa Cos, chaplain of the fragata, to accompany the expedition, and to make an examination of the proposed site of the Mission.

The party started on the 14th of September, six weeks later than the *San Carlos*, and escorted by nine soldiers as guards, with three

* "Segunda Exploracion de la Costa Septentrional de la California en 1775 con la Fragata Santiago y Goleta Sonora mandadas por el Teniente de Navio Dn. Bruno de Heceta, y el de Fragata Dn. Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, desde el Puerto de San Blas hasta 58° de latitud." Title of manuscript from the Department of State, Washington.

† In 1791 he published a chart of his discoveries, signed: "D. Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, de la orden de Santiago; Capitan de Navio de la Real Armada y Comandante del Departamento. Año 1791." He was born in Lima in 1744, and died at San Blas in March, 1794. Vancouver had great respect for him; and he has recently been spoken of as "este illustre marino" by Excelentissimo Sr. Dn. Cesáreo Fernandez Duro; Royal Acad. Hist. Madrid, 1904.

sailors and one carpenter. It was outfitted by a small northern canoe which was carried on the hurricane deck of a mule. They followed the trail of 1774 and on the 22nd reached the beach south of the present Cliff House under Point Lobos, where they found Ayala's fishing boat or cayuco cast ashore. The same day they visited the summit of Point Lobos, where they found the cross of 1774, and at its foot Father Paloú found two letters from Father Vicente Santa-Maria, which informed them that the *San Carlos* had finished the survey of the new Port of San Francisco, and had sailed for Monterey. They visited Fort Point, then called Punta del Cantil Blanco (White Cliff Point), and made signals to the Angel Island anchorage; and these not being answered they retraced their steps on the 24th as far as the lake three miles south of Point Lobos, and which they named la Laguna de Nuestra Señora de la Merced (Our Mother of Mercy). They reached Monterey on the first of October and found the *San Carlos* at anchor.

THE EXPLORATION OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY BY
LIEUTENANT COLONEL JUAN BAUTISTA DE ANZA.
MARCH AND APRIL, 1776.

We now return to the expedition by land from Monterey around the shores of San Francisco Bay.

Before Colonel Anza had sufficiently recovered from his illness after his long march from Sonora, he organized a small party and set out on the 22nd of March, accompanied by Ensign Moraga, Father Pedro Font, a corporal and ten soldiers, with a pack train, and provisions for twenty days.

The exact route pursued by Colonel Anza has been in very considerable doubt because there are no maps of sufficient detail to accompany the report made by himself and that by Father Font.

Father Font did make a rough map to show the general route of the expedition; but when courses and distances are plotted they will not fit the modern maps.* Distances were necessarily estimated, and evidently depended much upon the character of the country traversed, or the condition of the mules, or the digestion of the writer. Courses were given broadly, and surely with inferior compasses; and the character of the country is not fully described. Colonel Anza was a military man and much better able to estimate distances than the chaplain. Father Paloú says they followed the former routes, which statement we must take mainly but not absolutely, because it fails at critical points.

By weighing carefully the narratives and statements of Colonel Anza, Fathers Font† and Paloú, and remembering that the party was traveling near the close of the wet season, we are enabled to locate his route throughout the whole expedition with very satisfactory closeness. We have used the contoured maps of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the large hachured map

* "Mapa Correspondiente al Diario que Formo el P. F. Pedro Font del Viage que hizo a Monterey y Puerto de San Francisco y del Viage que hizo el P. Garces al Moqui, [1775]. P. F. Petrus Font fecit Tubutana anno 1777." Scale about 56 statute miles to one inch. In this map Father Font lays down Missions, Presidios, etc., etc., and a trail connecting them, and showing the line of travel. The trail fails where our purpose requires accuracy. A reduced copy of this map was published by Britton, Rey & Co., Lith., San Francisco; no date.

† His borrador with rubrica.

of Professor J. D. Whitney. Our personal knowledge of much of the route has helped us materially.

Father Paloú says that Colonel Anza followed the route of 1774, passed the site on the Guadalupe River which Father Paloú had proposed for a Mission; passed by the Arroyo de San José, Cupertino, and Redwood Creeks; and continued northwestwardly along the foothills bordering the west side of the bay; noted the creek which he named the Arroyo de San Mateo, and a dry arroyito in the vicinity of Millbrae; then followed a line nearly that of the present county road and the railroad, to the vicinity of Colma, where at an elevation of two hundred feet the head of Lake Merced bore nearly northwest, distant two miles. He then skirted the heads of the small valleys draining into that lake, gradually approached and followed its northern plateau and line of drainage to the ocean beach, which he followed, and "arrived at the mouth of the port at the location of the cross which "I planted on the 4th of December, 1774."* From this well defined position on the rocky summit of Point Lobos, three hundred and eighty-one feet above the sea, the party passed over the hills towards the Punta del Cantil Blanco (our Fort Point), and on March 27th at eleven o'clock A. M., they encamped at Mountain Lake (Laguna del Presidio), "near the mouth of the Port," out of which lake flowed a small rivulet with enough water to run a mill. They named this stream the Arroyo del Puerto, the present Lobos Creek. Father Font's journal says this shore, between Point Lobos and Fort Point, runs northeast and southwest, and is not straight; and into the bend empties the [Lobos] creek upon a beach, now locally known as Bakers Beach. From this camp Colonel Anza made an examination around the country and found wood, water and pasture, but no timber with which to construct the Presidio and other buildings.

Here Father Font remarks that this Port is a miracle of nature, and may be designated the Port of ports, on account of its great capacity. He says the narrowest part of the entrance is marked by two steep and high cliffs; that on the north is reddish (Point Diablo), and that on the south is white (Fort Point).

Next morning Colonel Anza went to the white cliff (Cantil Blanco), one league inside the entrance (between the heads Point

* Paloú: "Noticias," Vol. IV, page 142.

Lobos and Point Boneta) and declared it the place for a fortification; and the adjacent table land to the eastward was chosen for the Presidio. At the very extremity of Fort Point they erected the standard of the Holy Cross "where nobody had ever been"; and at the foot of the cross was buried an account of the expedition.

The extremity of this White head was then a sheer cliff about 107 feet above the sea, with a slight depression between the outer end and the hills to the south. Father Font's observations for latitude placed the point in $37^{\circ} 49'$,* which is only half a mile in error; and he made a survey of the sites for the fort, the Presidio and the entrance of the Gate with a graphometer.

The route which has thus far been described agrees well with Father Paloú's short but explicit statement, and he must have freely discussed the subject with Colonel Anza before starting and after returning. Without doubt some of the muleteers had previously accompanied Father Paloú.

Even without direct and positive evidence, a study of the contour map would bar any other route, the more especially as Colonel Anza was a man of very broad experience in exploration. In a recent history of this expedition the route laid down upon a small, weak sketch map is misleading, and can have no geographic weight; it is not in conformity with Father Font's crude map.

Father Font returned to camp while Colonel Anza and Lieutenant Moraga continued their examinations in the vicinity, March 28th. They located Pequeña Lagoon, or Washwoman's Lagoon, from which sufficient water was then running for garden irrigation; and ascended Alta Loma, doubtless our Telegraph Hill, to obtain a panoramic view of the Bay. They continued over the site of San Francisco to Mission Creek, and returned to camp. On the 29th the camp at Mountain Lake was broken up, and half of the party, under Lieutenant Moraga, returned to San Mateo Creek by the way they had come. Colonel Anza, Father Font and five men followed the bay shore to the eastward and eastsoutheast along the south shore of the entrance, and thence to the southeast, around the shore of the Enseñada de los Llorones or Mission Bay; reached Mission Creek where it drained the lake or lagoon that was fed

* "Observe la Altura de este Puerto y lo halle en $37^{\circ} 49'$. Y assi digo. En la boca del Puerto de San Francisco, dia 28 de Marzo de 1776: Altura meridiana del bordo inferior del Sol: $55^{\circ} 21'$." On the back of page 22 of the borrador.

by the waters of the Willows Creek, and which was called la Laguna de Manantial or running water. This lagoon had been recognized by the Fathers as la Laguna de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.*

Colonel Anza then examined the vicinity for the proposed Mission site. Father Font says they found a pretty rivulet, and because the day was the last Friday but one in Lent they called it the "Arroyo de los Dolores." They found the spring from which this rivulet (the Willows Creek) flowed, and as there was irrigable land around it, and as its location was only one league from the Presidio, they established the site of the present Mission.†

The party then passed over the hills to their former trail, doubtless crossing the depression west of Bernal Heights; thence nearly along the line of the railroad and country road as far as the old trail of Portolá when he came from the head of the San Andrés Cañada. Colonel Anza ascended from the plains to Portolá's lagoon, and thence passed through the cañada, where he found an abundance of timber. He continued through the Cañada de Raymundo past the San Mateo Cañon, crossed the low hills to the east, and when on the bay shore plains turned northward to the San Mateo Creek, where he joined Lieutenant Moraga and the rest of the party. On the 30th they retraced their trail to the southward, examined and named the River Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and pronounced the situation good for a Mission. On the 31st the party rounded the southern extremity of the bay, about one mile from the shore, where the land was very boggy, and forded the intersecting streams. They reached the Arroyo de San Salvador, the Arroyo de la Harina, or Alameda Cañon. They kept well up from the bay shore and on the first of April passed the head of San Antonio Creek, and reached San Pablo Creek, whence San Pablo Bay, with its area of one hundred and twenty-

* El sitio de la laguna de los Dolores para la Mision; Paloú, Vol. IV, p. 169. This lagoon is shown on the copy of a Spanish chart published by A. Dalrymple in 1789. On this chart the name is "Laga. de los Dolores" near the "Mission de Sn. Francisco"; and is represented as quite a large body of water.

† On the back of page 22 of his "Diario" Father Pedro Font states the observed latitude of our Fort Point is $37^{\circ} 49'$; and continues: Como a las cinco "de tarde bolvieron del registro el Sn. Comandante y el Theniente muy contentos, por haver hallado mas de lo que esperaban en el recinto de estas "lomas cuya extension sera de unas tres leguas. En ellas y en sus cañadas "en contraron mucho bosque y leña, much aqua en varias manantiales ó "lagunas, bastante tierras de pan llevar, y en fin muchissimo pasto entodo "el terreno."

two square miles, opened before them; and to the northwest they beheld the low depression of Petaluma Valley. They thought that route would lead by water to Bodega Bay. This day they report that they heard the roar or the breaking of the sea upon the ocean beach or bar, for which the atmospheric conditions must have been very favorable when they were in the vicinity of Berkeley.

On the second they followed, eastwardly, the south shore of San Pablo Bay to abreast Mare Island,* where Father Font observed a meridian altitude of the sun for the latitude of the Freshwater Port, $38^{\circ} 05\frac{1}{2}'$. The latitude by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey is $38^{\circ} 03\frac{3}{8}'$. When they reached Martinez Creek they noted the appearance of Bull's Head as a cliff or Farallon in the water one mile east of the creek. Crossing the high ground east of the creek they saw before them the Arroyo de Santa Angela de Fulgino of Lieutenant Fagés' expedition; and a great herd of elk. The adjacent marsh and the low flat tule islands of Suisun Bay to the northeast seemed like an immense plain without trees. They had a view of the range of the Sierra Nevada, forty leagues distant, and stretching from the north-northwest to the southsoutheast. They determined to travel toward the Sierra for several days. They encamped on the Fulgino, now the Arroyo de las Nueces (Walnut or Pacheco Creek), about one league from the bay shore, with the surrounding plain well wooded and of considerable extent..

On the third of April they followed along the south shore of Suisun Bay and the left bank of the San Joaquin, and passed the site of Antioch. They appear to have ascended the low, partially wooded sand hills of Los Médanos which they say are one league from the water, and whence they saw the waters dividing into three branches, which they supposed to come from some great river. They noted the many islands covered with tule and without trees. These hills were probably the limit of Lieutenant Fagés and Father Crespi's explorations in 1772.

Colonel Anza was looking over the vast tulares of the Sacramento and Joaquin River systems without clearly comprehending their relations.

While they were on the bank of the San Joaquin they found the water sweet, and noted that there was no perceptible tide. This

* La Isla de las Yeguas.

would happen at the epoch of the tides when the "half-tides" of this coast are very small and sometimes with only a few inches rise or fall for six or eight hours.

In moving toward the Sierra Nevada on the fourth of April they soon found themselves among the marshes, and traveled nearly all day "in every direction" along the margin of the high tules which hid the river. With this prospect before them they decided to make no further attempt to reach the Sierra Nevada, and continued to the southward. They must have missed the depression of the hills on the west leading through the Livermore Pass, and very probably encamped at or near the present Corral Hollow after a hard day's experience. Before they left the plains Father Font says the whole country abounded in deer.

On the fifth we believe they followed the ridge on the south side of Corral Hollow for about three leagues, whence they could see the great plains of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys. This practice of following a ridge was that usually adopted by the early Californians, and it had many advantages. Thence the party took a general southwardly direction eight miles, on which trail they passed over the western edge of the Red Mountain or Cerro Colorado of Whitney's map,* "dicha Serrania por cuyo pie passa un arroyo es de color rojo"; (page 32 of borrador). The soldiers who had worked in the mines of Guanajuato declared from the colors of the rocks that they were rich in minerals.

Before them, to the southwestward, ten miles distant, they noted the high, rugged range of Mount Hamilton covered with oaks and pines, forty-three hundred feet above the sea. They moved from Red Mountain southward about a league, continuously descending until the land spread out, and they found themselves in a very long glen of considerable width, and through which they traveled four leagues to the southsouthwest. As they entered it the soldiers named it El Cañada de San Vicente. It is now known as San Antonio Valley (Whitney).

On the sixth of April they left the southern head of the cañada, and reached the northern extremity of the ridge on the east side of the eastern head of Coyote Creek. Thence they continued along the ridge six miles to the southsoutheast, to where the ridge con-

* "Map of Central California by the State Geological Survey. First sheet (S. W. quarter). Scale six miles to one inch. 1871."

tinues in an irregular line twelve miles southwardly to the little rise where Bear Creek runs into the Coyote: un Altito imediato al arroyo del Coyote."

On the seventh they left the "Altito," crossed the valley occupied by the middle part of the Pájaro River (three miles south of "Old Gilroy"), left it and crossed the hills by the route they had taken when leaving the Salinas River. They made a long march of fifteen leagues and encamped on the bank of the Rio de Monterey (the Santa Delfina or Salinas).

On the eighth of April they reached "la Mision de San Carlos del Carmelo," having been absent eighteen days of severe travel and anxiety.

With ceaseless energy Colonel Anza started for Mexico on the fourteenth of April, after giving Lieutenant Moraga command of the further work of the expedition.

It may be mentioned here that the official relations of Colonel Anza and Captain Rivera had become strained in the matter of the relief of San Diego; which fact may account for the subsequent action of Rivera in delaying the date of the foundation of the Mission at San Francisco, beyond the day of San Francisco.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDIO AND FORT AND THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO: 1776.

We have followed the exploration of Colonel Anza to its completion so far as regards this part of California; and now propose to show how his plans were executed.

The definite locations of the Fort, Presidio and Mission of San Francisco having been decided by Colonel Anza, preparations were made to establish or found them, so soon as practicable, with all the proper official forms and ceremonies. For this purpose the expedition left Monterey at two o'clock on the afternoon of June 17th, 1776, under the command of Lieutenant Don José Joaquin Moraga and the Friars Francisco Paloú and Pedro Benito Cambon. The colony comprised soldiers and their families, the pobladores or colonists and their families. They reached the site of the Mission on the 27th, and the site of the Presidio on the 28th, and formed a camp with fifteen tents.

On the 29th of June, the day of the Holy Apostles San Pedro and San Pablo, the Holy Sacrifice of the mass was celebrated in "una enramada," or hut thatched with branches, hurriedly erected to serve as a chapel.

It may be noted that this date was five days before the Declaration of the Independence of the United States.

The vessels intended to relieve Monterey and to found the Presidio, Fort and Mission of San Francisco were the *San Antonio*, and the *San Carlos*. They left San Blas March 9, 1776. The former arrived at Monterey May 21st, the latter on June 3rd. The *San Antonio* was detained two days to receive the mail from the *San Carlos*, and sailed about the last of June with supplies to San Diego, and thence returned to San Blas. The officers of the *San Carlos* were Comandante Don Fernando Quirós, lieutenant of ship of the Royal Navy, with two pilots, Don José Cañizares and Don Cristóbal Revilla. The chaplains were Fray Vincente Santa-Maria and Fray José Nocedal.

After receiving on board some impedimenta and two cannon, she sailed on the fifth of June, for the trip of eighty-five miles to the Golden Gate. It was the season of the usual strong northwest winds and swell, and the commander, instead of working short tacks along

the coast, made such a long tack off shore to get a fair wind that he was forced below the parallel of San Diego (latitude of Point Loma $32^{\circ} 40'$). Then little by little the wind favored the vessel, until she reached the latitude of 42° (St. George's Reef is in latitude $41^{\circ} 50'$), when she tacked in shore and made the coast north of Point Reyes. She then sailed between that point and the Northwest Farallones, and anchored in "La Enseñada de los Farallones" on the night of August 17th. The next morning she entered the Golden Gate and anchored in the open bight between Mile Rocks and Fort Point, doubtless on account of a strong outgoing current. The site of the Presidio could not be seen from this anchorage, so the captain, the pilots, and Father Nodecal leaped ashore and made their way over the hills to the Presidio and then visited the Mission, to the relief and joy of every one.

After the land party from Monterey had reached the locality of the Mission, they carefully examined the vicinity and the country thence to the Presidio. They became very anxious for the arrival of the *San Carlos* and to fix the exact spot for the Presidio and the Fort, as the plans had been drawn by the Chief Pilot Cañizares. Meanwhile temporary barracks and huts were constructed for the protection of the soldiers and the people.

So soon as the *San Carlos* arrived, after her trip of seventy-three days, she sent a gang of men and the carpenter to help forward the preparations. Thenceforth the work was pushed more vigorously on the buildings of the Presidio, and a church for the same. The plan covered a square of 92 varas, or 252 feet. In November, 1792, Vancouver estimated the sides to be "about two hundred yards in length."*

Every one worked earnestly because it was intended to perform the solemn function of taking possession on the 17th of September, the "dia de las Llagas de nuestro seráfico padre San Francisco, "patron del puerto del nuevo presidio y de la mision."[†] (Paloú. Vol. IV, page 170.)

Assisted by Father Benito Cambon by Father Vicente Santa-Maria, chaplain of the *San Carlos*, and by Father Tomas de la Peña y Sarabia who had come from the Mission of San Carlos at Carmelo, Father Paloú blessed the establishment, chanted a solemn

* "Vancouver." Volume II, page 6.

† The date for the founding of the Mission was appointed for October 4th.

mass, elevated and adored the Holy Cross; then the officers took formal possession.

Father Paloú does not further mention this act of taking possession. It usually consisted in an Invocation to the Holy Trinity; three persons in one God. The announcement that in His Holy Name the certified instrument or chart of possession was made by authority of the King of Spain, whose titles are all enumerated. Then followed the name and title of the Comandante and his authority. All knelt and adored the Holy Cross which was proclaimed as erected by authority of His Majesty; and that by orders of the Viceroy of New Spain the Comandante did take possession of this land forevermore for the Crown of Castile and Leon, as belonging to it by virtue of the "Donation y Bula que el Muy "Santo Padre Alejandro Sixto Sumo Pontífice Romano," executed to the "Mui Altos y Catolices Señores Don Fernando V y Doña "Ysabel su Muger, Reges de Castilla, y Leon," at Rome on the 4th of May, 1493. And in taking possesion the Comandante drew his sword and cut trees, branches, bushes and grass; moved stones and walked over the land and the shore, with no obstruction to these movements.

The Comandante then carried and erected the Cross, piled stones around the foot, and proclaimed the name of the Port and Bay. The bark of a tree should be then stripped off and upon the trunk cut the form of a cross, upon the arms of which should be cut the letters I. N. R. I.,* and at the foot "Carolus III," the King of Spain.

Father Paloú continues his narration by saying that after the act of taking possession the officers, the fathers and all others marched to the church, where they sang the *Te Deum Laudamus*, with chimes of the bells, salvoes of cannon and large and small muskets, which the *San Carlos* answered with her swivels, whose shot and loud reports so frightened the Indians that they disappeared for many days.

Upon the conclusion of these ceremonies the Comandante of the Presidio invited everybody to the best collation the resources of the station afforded, and the day ended with the greatest joy, pleasure and satisfaction.†

* Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum.

† Paloú: "Noticias," Vol. IV, page 171.

There was some official friction and delay about founding the Mission upon the day of San Francisco, October the fourth. We have already hinted at that friction.

The Comandante of the Presidio of Monterey, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, had given instructions that the Mission should not be founded until he had issued special orders. These had not arrived after the ceremonies of the seventeenth of September, and pending their coming Lieutenant Moraga had gone with the *San Carlos* to Karquinez Strait to make a reconnaissance in order to locate the mouth of the San Francisco River, as had been directed by Colonel Anza. The lieutenant did not return until the seventh of October, and as all the surveys had been satisfactorily completed, he assumed the authority of founding the Mission, which ceremony was fixed for the next day.

In the afternoon of the eighth of October there assisted at this solemn function Father Paloú and his associates already mentioned, the Comandante, officers and soldiers; the Captain, Pilot and most of the crew of the *San Carlos*, and all the male settlers. These people formed a procession headed by Father Paloú and the Fathers, who carried an image of the Seraphic Father San Francisco, which was then placed upon the altar.

With the firing of musketry and the explosion of rockets the procession marched from the Presidio to the Mission, where Father Paloú, assisted by the other Fathers, chanted a mass, and preached a sermon upon the life and character of the patron saint of the Port, the Presidio, and the Mission. After which all feasted to the limits of the refectory.

Condensing the foregoing statements of these unique ceremonies we note more briefly, that the permanent settlement of the Colony of San Francisco bears date from the 29th of June, 1776; the military establishment of the Presidio from September the 17th; and the founding of the Mission from October the 8th of the same year.

THE NAME OF THE MISSION: LA MISION DE NUESTRO
SERAFICO PADRE SAN FRANCISCO. THE
SITE WAS NEVER CHANGED.

The Mission of San Francisco has frequently received the name Dolores; in fact that has been the popular designation for many years, and many explanations have been offered for the application of that name; but there is not the least authority for its use.

We have already shown that the second pilot, Aguirre, of the *San Carlos*, in 1775, had named the indentation of Mission Bay "la Enseñada de los Llorones." In the Anza expedition of 1776 a camp was formed, June 27th, on the border of the lake which had been named la Laguna de Manantial or "la Laguna de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores," and that it was connected with the "Enseñada de las Llorones." This name of the lagoon is mentioned several times, and Father Font says the pretty rivulet emptying into it was named the "Arroyo de los Dolores."

The name Dolores therefore applies only to the rivulet and to the lagoon, and not to the Mission itself. In describing the subsequent ceremonies attending the consecration of the Mission, Father Paloú heads one of his chapters "Fundacion de la mision de "nuestro seráfico padre San Francisco en las cercanías del puerto "de dicho nombre," which should settle the matter.*

To this title is frequently added "de Asis," as there are several saints of the same name although lacking the title seraphic. And as fairly coming within the purview of this paper we have drawn up the following very brief account of his life.

SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS.

Saint Francis of Assisi was born in 1182; founded the order of Franciscans (one of the four mendicant orders) in 1209, and died in October, 1226. The vows required poverty and mendicity; and demanded the renunciation of all worldly goods by every disciple of the order. Not until a proselyte was absolutely destitute did he become a Franciscan; and then his duties were among the poor and the suffering, and he labored physically to get food when necessary. Dean Milman says Franciscanism was the democracy of Christianity, but with Saint Francis it was an humble, meek and

* "Noticias de la Nueva California," Vol. IV, Chapter XXI, page 176.

quiescent democracy. Saint Francis rejected alike the pomp of ritual and the pride of learning; and the Franciscan services were to be conducted with the simplicity of devotion, and without the wantonness of music. In his own short, fragmentary writings he ever enforces the most submissive obedience to the clergy.

San Francisco was the first saint to whom was vouchsafed the exhibition of the stigmata. About the time of the Exhallation of the Cross on the fifteenth of September, Francis, being in prayer in his cell on the side of Mount Alverno, raised himself towards God and saw a seraph.*

Assisi is a town of Italy with a present population of about 3,500, on one line of railroad from Rome to Florence. It is picturesquely situated on the west side of the Apennines, ten miles eastsoutheast from Perugia and near the Tiber; and seventy-five miles north of Rome. Thousands of pilgrims annually visit the tomb of Saint Francis in the cathedral; and their expenditures are a large source of revenue to the inhabitants of the town.

"Francis d'Assisi (1182-1225), the Italian St. Francis, founder of the Franciscan Friars, was the first poet to use the Italian speech, nearly one hundred years before Dante. It was the Provençal tongue which other poets used in Italy, and St. Francis used one of the common Italian dialects in order to come nearer the common people."†

THE MISSION SITE WAS NEVER CHANGED.

Some doubt has arisen whether the present location of the Mission of San Francisco is that first selected. Father Paloú says the land expedition reached the already chosen site on the 27th of June, 1776; and that it was on the shore of a laguna which had been named after la Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and that it was within sight of the Enseñada de los Llorones, which is our Mission Bay. Volume IV, page 166, *Noticias*.

On the 28th the military part of the expedition reached the site of the Presidio, three miles to the northward.

It is objected that there is and was no laguna near the Mission site, and that the first site was on the west side of Russian Hill near Pequeña Laguna, or Washwoman's Lagoon. The oldest Spanish

* Butler's "Lives of the Saints."

† Extract from Index Guide Warner Library, page 13. See Volume XV, pages 5919-24.

charts published by Dalrymple in 1790 from Spanish MS. show the "Laguna de los Dolores," and also the "Pequeña or Little Laguna," which has no outlet on the chart and had none in the early fifties.

The "Mission de Sn. Francisco," represented by two towers, is close to the "Laguna de los Dolores." La Pérouse, 1786, inserted one of these Spanish charts in his narrative without credit to the authority. Moreover, he did not enter San Francisco Bay, nor did he send any of his boats there from his anchorage in Monterey Bay. Vancouver, November, 1792, is no authority in this case. Captain Beechey, R. N., in a good chart of the Bay of San Francisco, executed in 1826, spreads out the upper part of Mission Creek into a long narrow lagoon lying half a mile east of the Mission, which is represented by a conventional sign. This map was reproduced by Duflot de Mofras in his *Atlas* of 1841 without credit. On Sunday, October 8th, 1876, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, in his centenary address of the founding of the Presidio and Mission of San Francisco, states that the first site of the Mission was one thousand varas northwest of the present situation; but he must have repeated an erroneous statement because that location lacked a water supply.

On the United States Coast Survey cadastral maps of 1851 and 1857 the head of Mission Creek, above the sharp bend between Bryant and Harrison Streets, was seven-tenths of a mile long, with an average width of one-eighth of a mile, including low marsh. This gives an area of fifty-six acres; and it is reasonable to suppose that the area was greater in 1776, because the sand had been drifting into the lagoon for seventy-five years. At high water of spring tides the whole area would be covered with water, and it would then appear as a lagoon. The Mission is not on the immediate "orilla" or shore of the lagoon, but is about seventy-five feet above high water, and a little more than half a mile nearly west. It had a fine prospect to the north, east and south. The "Willows" Creek of the early fifties was a living stream of water, and it passed only four hundred yards to the southward of the Mission, whence it could be, and doubtless was, led for domestic and irrigation purposes by the Fathers. The site was well selected, with good drainage on the north and south sides, and very likely an Indian rancheria on or near the banks. Any one who will

examine the contoured map of the United States Coast Survey will be satisfied that the statement of General Vallejo was based on erroneous estimates given to him of distance and facts.

As a matter of history the Padres, when left to their judgments based upon experience in the dry regions of Mexico and Lower California, never made an erroneous selection in locating their Missions. This Mission of San Francisco was to be their home and that of their successors for all time, and demanded good soil for cultivation, wood, water, drainage, the neighborhood of Indians, and the protection of a small body of soldiers from the nearby Presidio.

THE PAQUEBOT SAN CARLOS.

As the small paquebot *San Carlos* played a conspicuous figure in the early history of California, it may be of interest to present a few items concerning her and to correct an error which has confounded her with a larger and later vessel of the same name.

In May, 1904, Cesáreo Fernández Duro (*Revista General de Marina*), published in Madrid a statement from the old reports that in 1768 the Visitador General José Gálvez caused the two paquebots *San Antonio* and *San Carlos* to be expressly constructed at the dockyard [apostadero] at San Blas, Mexico, for the purpose of serving as auxiliaries to the contemplated land expeditions destined for San Diego and Monterey. The last duty which the *San Carlos* did, according to our manuscripts, was after she had made the trip for the survey of the Bay of San Francisco, 1775, namely, the survey of Suisun Bay and the mouths of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin Rivers, in 1776, under Moraga. She was too small for voyages of discovery and exploration to the northward, and is said to have been succeeded by a larger vessel of the same name. There is a conflict of authority about this new vessel. In our manuscript descriptions of the five voyages of discovery and exploration to the northwest coast, between 1774 and 1790, we find that in the fourth, 1788, the fragata *Princessa* and the paquebot *San Carlos* were sent for the particular purpose of finding what settlements had been made by the Russians.*

In the fifth expedition of 1790 the *San Carlos* appears and disappears. Her name is one of the fleet of three vessels that set sail from San Blas, and in a few pages her name is replaced by *El Filipino*. But in the coast chart drawn up and published in 1802 by the *Sutil y Mexicana* expedition the *Filipino* is credited in the expedition of 1788, and the *San Carlos* in that of 1790. We

* Among our manuscripts the tenth on the list is designated as follows: "10º. Cuarta exploracion hasta 61º N. en 1788 por Don Estevan José Martínez, piloto y Alferez de Navío graduado y Don Gonzalo de Haro, Piloto, "con la fragata Princessa y el Paquebot Filipino." There had been changes of commanders in the organization of the expedition in 1787, but the vessels remained. Yet in the detailed journals which carried them to Cooks Inlet we find this announcement: "Diario que llevaron la Fragata Princessa "mandada por el Alferez de Navío Dn. Esteban [José] Martinez, et el "Paquebot San Carlos mandada por el primer piloto Dn. Gonzalez [Gabriel] "Lopez de Haro, los cuales salieron el 8 de Marzo de 1788 del puerto de Sn. "Blas." * * * * The *Filipino* and *San Carlos* appear to be one and the same.

have no means to settle the question; it is likely the *Filipino* had an *álias* in the new *San Carlos*; or vice versa.

Later the “paquebot *San Carlos*” is mentioned by Malaspina as being at Monterey in September, 1791. He reported her having convoyed the *Santa Saturnini* from Nutka to the Strait of Fuca; and thence to Monterey. (Page 197.)

Vancouver names the *San Carlos* as one of the “armed ships” in Nootka Sound (Vol. I, page 408), under Captain de Haro in September, 1792; and again in the same place in September, 1794, as one of “His Catholic Majesty’s armed vessels *Princesa, Aran-*“*sasu* and *San Carlos*, belonging to the establishment at San Blas.” (Vol. III, page 300.)

We have made these details because it was very probably this second *San Carlos* that was driven upon the rocks at Point Bonita at night in a heavy southwest storm on the 23d of March, 1797, when bound for San Blas; and finally got back to Yerba Buena Cove, where she sunk under the south shore of Telegraph Hill, as related by Señor Dr. Diego de Borica, then Governor of California; of which we have published a full history from the original reports.*

General Vallejo saw the wreck in 1829, and erroneously considered it the hull of the *San Augustin*, wrecked at Drakes Bay in 1595, and which he supposed had come off the rocks and drifted southward and through the Golden Gate. This was absolutely improbable. A late authority of this coast has expressed his belief that the traditional wreck at the mouth of the Nehalem River, in latitude $45^{\circ} 38\frac{1}{2}'$, was that of the *San Augustin*.

* These Spanish documents were destroyed in the conflagration of San Francisco, April 18-20, 1906.

THE PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO IN 1792 AND 1812.

Vancouver is the first to describe the Presidio, off which he anchored November 14, 1792. The walls were seen from his vessel, and when he visited it to pay his respects to Señor Sal, the Comandante, he writes: "The sides of this square area were about "two hundred yards in length, enclosed by a mud wall, and "resembling a pound for cattle. Above this wall the thatched roofs "of their low, small houses just made their appearance. On "entering the Presidio, we found one of its sides still unclosed "by the wall, and very indifferently fenced in by a few bushes here "and there, fastened to stakes in the ground. The unfinished state "of this part afforded us an opportunity of seeing the strength of "the wall, and the manner in which it was constructed. It is about "fourteen feet high, and five feet in breadth, and was first formed "by uprights and horizontal rafters of large timber, between which "dried sods and moistened earth were pressed as close and as hard "as possible; after which the whole was cased with the earth made "into a sort of mud plaster, which gave it the appearance of "durability, and of being sufficiently strong to protect them. * * *

"Their houses were along the wall, within the square, and their "fronts uniformly extended the same distance into the area, which "is a clear, open space, without buildings or other interruptions. "The entrance into it is by a large gateway; facing which, against "the centre of the opposite wall or side, is the church, which, "though small, was neat in comparison to the rest of the buildings. "This projects further into the square than the houses, and is "distinguishable from the other edifices, by being whitewashed "with lime made from sea-shells. * * *

"The apartment in the Comandante's house, into which we were ushered, was about thirty feet long, fourteen feet broad, and twelve feet high. * * * The floor was of the native soil, raised "about a foot from the original level without being boarded, paved, "or even reduced to an even surface; the roof was covered with "flags and rushes, the walls on the inside had once been whitewashed." * * *

Vancouver speaks generously of the warm reception which he received from the Comandante and his wife.*

Father Paloú tells us that the Presidio covered a square of ninety-two varas each side; this would be about two hundred and

* "Vancouver." Vol. II, pages 6 et seq.

fifty-two feet, or smaller than Vancouver's estimate. We suppose it was enlarged between the dates 1776 and 1792.

We have before us a plan of the Presidio made in 1820 to show the effects of the great earthquake of 1812, which destroyed the Mission buildings of San Juan Capistrano and Santa Ynez. This plan is a rectangle in proportion of eleven north and south and ten east and west.

The whole arrangement is built to face north, the chapel was at the south or higher end of the parade ground, and extended into the square and beyond the wall. On the east side of the chapel were the quarters of the Comandante; on the west those of the officers. The cuartel was near the northeast angle, the "calabozo" at the east side of the entrance, the guardhouse on the west side. All buildings were about ten feet from the inner side of the wall; and around the whole parade ground was a line of trees. The flagpole was near the middle of the area.

Assuming Father Paloú's size correct, and that the plan of 1820 was in proportion, we estimate the chapel to have been seventy-five feet long and twenty-five feet wide.

The whole parade was surrounded by buildings which were twenty-five feet deep.

The chapel was destroyed by the earthquake mentioned, sixty feet of the buildings in ruins, and one-half of the surrounding wall.

This plan also marks the anchorage, the "pozo de los marineros"; and beyond the southeast angle the houses of Marcos Briones y Miramontes, and the "ojo de agua" El Polin.

Captain Beechey surveyed the Bay of San Francisco in 1826, and found the Presidio in very dilapidated condition, with broken down walls, and equipped with three rusty iron guns.

We visited the Presidio in 1850 and in the spring of 1852 occupied an astronomical station of the United States Coast Survey on a little spur overlooking el Polin. We were a frequent visitor to the quarters of Captain John Lendrum, U. S. A., then in charge of the post, and remember the adobe houses then standing.

THE NAME OF THE GOLDEN GATE.

The name first given to the entrance of San Francisco Bay was by Comandante Pedro Fagés on the 26th of March, 1772, when he looked through it from the Berkeley hills and named it "la Bocana de la Enseñada de los Farallones"; the large entrance from the Gulf of the Farallones.

In Father Font's borrador of Anza's survey of the Bay of San Francisco in 1776, he writes, after passing over Point Lobos, that they reached "la orilla de una Laguna ó manantial de linda aqua imediata al boco del Puerto de San Francisco." The stream is the Lobos Creek emptying the lagoon within the Presidio limits.

In Dalrymple's chart of the entrance and bay, published in 1790, from a manuscript Spanish chart, he designates it the "Entrance of the Famous Port of San Francisco."

It had no special name given to it by Vancouver, 1792, but is mentioned as "the channel leading into this spacious port." Langsdorff, who entered the bay with the Russian Chamberlain Resánof in 1805, makes no other reference to it than "this arm of the sea." Kotzebue, 1824, describes it as "the channel which leads into this beautiful and spacious bay"; and Beechey, who surveyed the bay in 1826, applies no name to the entrance in his narrative. Sir George Simpson, who visited the coast in 1841, speaks of it as a "strait about two miles in breadth"; and Duflot de Mofras in the same year copied Beechey's survey without credit, or name to the great waterway. Wilkes entered the Golden Gate August 14, 1841, and writes: "The entrance to the harbor is striking. Bold and rocky shores confine the rush of the tide, which bore us on through a narrow passage into a large estuary; in this, several islands and rocks lie scattered about," etc.

It was not named by Commodore Sloat nor by Captain Montgomery in 1846, after the seizure of the ports of Monterey and San Francisco.

In September of the same year San Francisco was visited by Kellett, in the frigate *Herald*, but the entrance remained nameless. They found that the United States had been in possession of the country for two months, and Seemann, the narrator of the voyage, wrote disparagingly of the bay.* Commander Cadwalader Ring-

* "Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. *Herald* during the years 1845-51, under the command of Captain Henry Kellett, R. N., C. B." * * * by Berthold Seemann, F. L. S. * * * 2 vols. 1853. Vol. I, page 113.

gold, U. S. N., in 1850, made a survey of the approaches, entrance and Bay of San Francisco, San Pablo Bay, etc., of which the charts were published with a small pamphlet of forty-eight pages of directions. The directions mention the Golden Gate only once incidentally; on two of the charts the name is placed at the throat of the entrance to the bay between Lime Rock and Fort Point, the latter not named.

Findlay in his Directory of the Pacific Coast, 1851, page 334, does not name it, but describes it as "a narrow entrance in an unsheltered line of coast, where fogs are both sudden and dense."

It was not used on the small scale general charts of the Pacific Coast by the United States Coast Survey; 1850-51 by Lieutenant McArthur; and 1852-53 by Lieutenant Alden. But it was always referred to by name in the early reports, in the Coast Pilot of 1857, and on the first sheet of the entrance in 1859.

✓ The first use of the present name to the Golden Gate is in the "Geographical Memoir," presented to the Senate of the United States by J. Charles Frémont in June, 1848.* In a foot note to page 32 he adds to the text, "Passing through this gate—called "Chrysopylae (Golden gate) on the map, on the same principle "that the harbor of *Byzantium* (Constantinople afterwards) was "called *Chrysoceras* (golden horn). The form of the harbor, and "its advantages for commerce (and that before it became an "entrepot of eastern commerce) suggested the name to the Greek "founders of *Byzantium*. The form of the entrance into the Bay "of San Francisco, and its advantages for commerce (Asiatic "inclusive), suggest the name which is given to this entrance."

On the chart the name is given Chrysopylae or Golden Gate. Scale 1/3,000,000 or 47 miles to one inch.

In the "Memoirs of My Life," by Frémont, published in 1886, he speaks of the entrance in nearly the same terms, but emphasizes the name with capitals.†

In the large collection of documents relating to California, comprised in "Ho. of Reps. Ex. Doc. No. 17. 31st Congress. 1st Session," January, 1850, 976 pages, there is a "Map of Oregon and Upper California from the Surveys of John Charles Frémont and

* Senate. Miscellaneous. No. 148. 30th Congress, 1st Session. June, 1848. Pages 44, and 23 pages of Appendix, with "Map of Oregon and Upper California from the surveys of John Charles Frémont and other authorities."

† Volume I, page 512.

other authorities," drawn by order of the Senate, 1848. Scale 1/3,000,000. The entrance to the Bay of San Francisco is "Chrysopylae or Golden Gate." It is the same as in the earlier document. A second map follows in the same volume, on a larger scale by Lieutenant Derby, U. S. Engineers, but there is no name to the entrance to the bay.

It may be mentioned in this connection that for a while after the occupation of California by the United States, the spelling of the name of the north head of the Golden Gate was undecided, but the United States Coast Survey finally settled upon Point Bonita. The proper name is Bonete, the hat worn by some of the clergy. When a vessel was approaching the north point she would see three heads, each of which resembled the bonete; and the point is referred to in old Spanish documents under that designation. The southern of the three has been cut down to give a lower position for the light house, because the fogs sometimes lie well above the surface of the sea.

CONCLUSION.

We have brought to a close the task we had assigned to ourselves. The body of the work was completed in July, 1904, and we have since done little more than read it over again in search of errors.

It will have been seen that the histories of the discovery of the two bays, San Francisco and Monterey, were so intimately interwoven that one could not be properly presented without the other.

In many cases we admit the charge of going into much detail. We found this necessary in order to fix events, discoveries and names in their proper relations, and thereby correct numerous errors that have gradually crept into the history of this coast. Our opportunities for the solution of doubtful cases have been better than usually happens to a single investigator. Personal acquaintance and research of the regions traversed since 1850, and the possession of manuscript and published narratives and charts, and intercourse with the old Californians, have combined to aid us in reaching a true interpretation of the intention of the narrators.

That is all we have aimed at; and we believe that many of our people, young and old, will be satisfied to know some of the incidents and struggles of the early Spanish discoverers and explorers that have had their share in the building of this empire on the Pacific Coast of America.

GEORGE DAVIDSON.

ERRATA

- Title page, 4th line: *For Presido* read Presidio.
- Page 3, 17th line from bottom: *For seabord* read seaboard.
- Page 4, foot note: *For Extracto* read Extracto.
- Page 4, foot note, 2d line: *For Monterey* read Monterrey.
- Page 4, foot note, 2d line: *For Mision* read Mission.
- Page 4, foot note, 3d line: *For el* read 'el.
- Page 4, foot note, 3d line: *For successo* read sucessso.
- Page 4, foot note, 12th line: *For YUno* read Yllmo.
- Page 6, foot note, 2d line from bottom: *For Favórita* read Favorita.
- Page 7, 10th line from bottom: *For Peake* read Peak.
- Page 7, last line: *For Barrows* read Barrow.
- Page 18, 2d line from bottom: *For Reyer* read Reyes.
- Page 19, 2d line: *For Haklayt* read Hakluyt.
- Page 28, foot notes, 3d line: *For Dell,* read Dell'.
- Page 28, foot notes, 4th line: *For V Varvich* read VVarvich.
- Page 37, 14th line from bottom: *For quarter* read quarters.
- Page 40, 6th line: *For gees* read geese.
- Page 46, first line of foot note: *For susodicho* read susodicha.
- Page 46, 2d line of foot note: *For nar* read mar.
- Page 46, 6th line of foot note: *For yestá* read y está.
- Page 46, 7th line of foot note: *For surgit* read surgir.
- Page 46, 13th line of foot note: *For ocuparán* read ocuparán.
- Page 51, 7th line: *For cater* read later.
- Page 52, 11th line: *For kernal* read kernel.
- Page 55, first line of foot note: *For immenso* read inmenso.
- Page 55, 2d line of foot note: *For much* read mucho.
- Page 56, 5th line: *For a* read de la.

ERRATA

- Page 75, 8th line from bottom: *For principle* read *principal*.
- Page 79, 7th line from bottom: *For Juniper* read *Junipero*.
- Page 88, first line of foot note: *For We* read "We."
- Page 89, 16th line: *After La Pérouse* insert *Malaspina*.
- Page 92, 4th line from bottom: *For stait* read *strait*.
- Page 94, 21st line: *Before* from *insert* only.
- Page 99, 1st line: *After* whole *insert* of the.
- Page 101, 17th line from bottom: *For seabord* read *seaboard*.
- Page 108, 4th line from bottom: The 1 in leeward is broken.
- Page 109, 5th line: *For Neuva* read *Nueva*.
- Page 124, 2d line: *For un* read "un."
- Page 125, 15th line: *After* on *insert* Saturday.
- Page 125: *After* line 20 add the foot note, On Thursday, June 27, 1776, Captain James Cook, in the *Resolution*, left the Thames for Plymouth, from which port he sailed for the South Sea July 11th.
- Page 128, 15th line: *After* the first of *insert* Tuesday.
- Page 130, 7th line: *For Exhallation* read *Exaltation*.

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